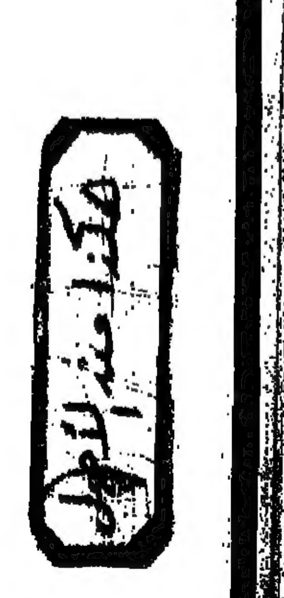




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Europe haunted by spectre of nuclear battleground

Frankfurter Neue Presse

…he possibility of a nuclear war …being limited to Europe is a cons…lly recurring feature of the arms …ld-up and disarmament debate.

It is a topic as old as Nato itself. The …ment the West joined forces to coun… the Eastern threat America's Euro…n allies were worried the United Sta… might leave them in the lurch.

…hey also feared, time and again, that …rica might be tempted to wage war …h Russia in Europe.

…he various deterrent doctrines that …e prevailed in Nato's strategic think… over the years have been drawn up …ly to make US guarantees appear …ally credible to the Russians and to …erica's allies.

Whenever the Americans worked on … of an overall deterrent many were …led they might end up leaving the …opean to their own devices to save … own skins.

…he emergence of Eurostrategic wea… now presents an opportunity of …uring the spectre of a war limited to …ope.

… it is advisable to take a constant …cal look at the probability or likeli…d of any such limited engagement, …cially now the Russians have taken …hreatening the Europeans that it …ht happen if they allow the Ameri… to offset the advantage the Soviet …on enjoys by virtue of the arms …d-up it has already undertaken.

…he first question one must ask is …re this limited war might be waged. …ope extends from the Atlantic to the …als.

Would it be possible to limit fighting to between the Atlantic and the Elbe, as Soviet Defence Minister Ustinov has lately sought to suggest?

It is hardly likely that the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and, above all, the western part of the Soviet Union could be kept out of the action.

Between them they are both Moscow's major allies and the part of the Soviet Union tht accounts for a crucial share of Russia's industrial and agricultural potential.

So the Soviet Union would be clearly at a disadvantage if it were to allow a limited war to be waged in Europe that would be sure to weaken Russia decisively.

Right from the first engagement the Soviet Union would need to try to drag the United States into the fray.

America has a substantial military establishment stationed in Europe as an earnest of its guarantees. The United States could not possibly sacrifice US manpower in Europe without batting an eyelid if the Soviet Union were to try to take Western Europe by surprise.

So both superpowers have every good reason for seeking to avoid a clash in Europe, as Hitler of all people realised shortly before his end.

On being shown impressive film footage about the V 1 and the V 2 he seems to have immediately appreciated the future significance of what were the first long-range missiles.

Once weapons of this kind had been fully developed, he said, it would no longer be possible to fight wars in Europe because there would no longer be enough room.

Moscow, let it be added, is still a part of Europe.

The danger of destabilisation lies elsewhere, in the evident inability of the great powers to do without new developments.

The latest news is that both America and Russia are developing new anti-missile systems, and it hardly matters whether they are anti-missile missiles or rely on laser technology.

The risk remains that one power might esthblish a lead over the other for a longer period.

The underdog might feel dangerously insecure, while the other could succumb to the temptation to make use of its advantage while the going was good.

This state of affairs demonstrates, moreover, that for reasons of mutual mistrust the world powers are simply not prepared to abide by agreements reached on renouncing one thing or another.

As long as there are no overall, global agreements of this kind the quest to strike a balance in existing, as it were "conventional" sectors must be maintained.

The Soviet bid to make the Pershing 2 out to be a first-strike weapon and a threat to the balance of power is a barefaced lie and a deliberate attempt to disinform.

The US missiles lacks the range to be any such thing. It is only capable of reaching targets on the western perimeter of the Soviet Union.

Disinformation and intimidation are also the aims of the assertion that there is an urgent threat of war being waged on the backs of a handful of carefully chosen and strictly limited Europeans.

The greatest deterrent is still the total incalculability of each and every armed conflict in Europe, especially as Europe is of vital importance to both superpowers.

If anything, it is even more vital for the Soviet Union that it is for the United States, which is self—sufficient.

Hans-Joachim Nimtz

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 9 April 1983)

IN THIS ISSUE

A soldier says goodbye

General Frederick Kroesen, the Supreme Commander of the American land forces in Europe, is retiring. He makes his official goodbye to Germany here to President Karl Carstens in Bonn. General Kroesen, who survived a terrorist assassination attempt in Heidelberg in 1981, is to be succeeded by General Glenn K. Otis. (Photo: AP)

Soviet threat a bid to foil missiles plan

Soviet Defence Minister Dimitri Ustinov has threatened Western Europe with nuclear destruction.

Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers, meeting in Prague, have drawn up a comprehensive catalogue of disarmament offers and bids to reach an understanding.

Both moves have the same aim in mind, that of preventing missile modernisation by Nato and the stationing of new US medium-range missiles in Europe.

Marshall Ustinov was critical of the threat to peace posed by hundreds of American medium-range missiles that were to be based in Western Europe.

He conveniently forgot to note that the real threat to peace (and the arms race the Kremlin claims not to want) is posed by the hundreds of Soviet medium-range missiles Moscow already has stationed, threatening Western Europe both militarily and politically.

In spelling out the Soviet retaliation potential he did a number of fellow-travellers in Western Europe a disservice.

Soviet retaliation for the deployment of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles, he said, would be no means be limited solely to Western Europe.

It would inevitably extend to the United States too.

The claim that Washington plans to use missile modernisation as a means of decoupling Western Europe from joint defence and waging a nuclear war limited to Europe happens to be part of the stock-in-trade of anti-American propagandists.

The offers of disarmament and renunciation of the use of force made in Prague are by no means uninteresting, but they call for careful analysis.

As long as the Soviet Union uses inaccurate figures at the Vienna troop cut talks and shirks at Madrid its humanitarian and political obligations arising from the Helsinki accords the West should remain sceptical.

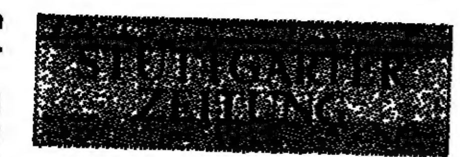
Moscow could demonstrate its willingness to disarm much more convincingly by dismantling a missile belt that threatens all Westerh Europe.

That is a move that would end Nato's missile modernisation plans once and for all.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 9 April 1983)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Despite Gromyko, door to missiles compromise has not seen slammed



A new coalition has emerged in Bonn: the coalition of the disappointed.

The man behind the mood is Andrei Gromyko, the longest-serving Soviet Foreign Minister and thus the most experienced advocate of the Soviet Union's foreign and security policy interests.

His reaction to President Reagan's suggestion for an interim agreement for the Geneva talks on medium-range missiles has triggered off criticism in (almost) all of Bonn's political parties.

Only the Greens remain silent, a logically consistent taciturnity considering that they regard the Nato double-decision as incorrect anyway.

No matter who suggests an interim agreement, they cannot expect support from this newcomer to the *Bundestag*.

The Greens, who are apparently backed on this point by Oskar Lafontaine, member of the SPD's national executive, are also holding back on commentaries on the negative reactions to the proposals.

However, political realities are not as uncomplicated as that. It looks as if the two superpowers have decided to conduct a large part of their negotiating via public speeches and press conferences, detouring as it were the conference table via public opinion.

Doubts are in order as to whether this approach is conducive to success in Geneva, with prestige and loss of face at risk if compromises backfire.

A solution will certainly not be reached if both sides remain inflexible.

Ever since 30 November, 1981, the United States and the Soviet Union have been negotiating in Geneva on land-based, nuclear "greater-distance medium-range missiles", i.e. those which can travel between 1,000 and 5,500 kilometres (INF talks).

The start to negotiations was made possible after the Soviet Union, despite statements to the contrary made to Chancellor Schmidt in June 1980, declared itself willing to go to the conference table.

It then took another year of deep-rooted reservations by President Reagan towards the Soviet Union in general and towards arms control in particular before talks actually got under way.

Ever since, both negotiating partners have been unable to resolve the central problem: defining the term "balance of power" in such a way as to make it understandable to both sides and thus turn it into an acceptable premise for agreement.

The Soviet Union is basically unchanged in its opinion that this balance already exists and that the scheduled deployment by Nato of medium-range missiles in Western Europe would upset this equilibrium at the expense of the Soviet Union.

During a press conference in which Andrei Gromyko replied to President Reagan's suggestion of a compromise solution in Geneva, this assessment of the situation was again reinforced.

However, there are a few things the Soviet Union must explain in this respect. In May 1978, the Soviet Union also felt that there was a balance of power. Then it had over 108 SS-20 launcher-missiles.

Today, there are 350 of these systems ready for operation. It can be presumed that each of the launching platforms has at least one triple-warhead missile. The potential is pretty impressive.

Nato, on the other hand, only has plans for the deployment of 572 single-warhead missiles beginning in autumn this year in accordance with the Nato double-decision.

France is only country which today already has 18 of the land-based nuclear medium-range missiles of the kind being discussed in Geneva. The figures therefore speak for themselves.

They certainly do not present a firm footing for Gromyki's diagnosis of a balance of power.

His main argument, therefore, is of a more fundamental political nature.

The Soviet Union lays a twofold claim: first, to being a world power of equal status to the USA; and second, to ensuring its position of superiority in Europa.

Both claims are to be reflected in terms of military capacity.

In this respect, however, the nuclear potentials of France and Britain have a pretty important say in the matter.

The modernisation programmes under way will mean that these two countries alone will possess over 1,000 medium-range nuclear warheads by the mid-1990s.

This shows that negotiations which are limited to the Soviet-American balance of power alone will ultimately prove inadequate.

The zero option put forward by President Reagan in November 1981, supported by his Allies, was based especially on this bilateral approach.

Reagan and his supporters have taken almost two years to show signs of compromise at the conference table.

Hopefully, the new move will pave the way for the future.

On 29 March, one day before the Easter break, US-negotiator Paul Nitze brought a new three-point plan to the Geneva talks.

The primary aim is to achieve an interim agreement on as low a level of armament as possible.

To this end, Washington agrees to cut down the number of its warheads providing the Soviet Union agrees on a ceiling level valid for both parties.

The zero option will still remain on the conference table, not so much as a package deal but as a permanent reminder of the ultimate objective behind the interim agreement.

The latter is to be regarded as a first step towards the removal of all medium-range nuclear missiles.

According to the third poi[nt] ... gotiators should make effo[rts] ... blish the precise number of wa[rheads] ... be covered by such an agreem[ent].

Admittedly, there is nothi[ng] ... tially new about this sugge[stion] ... sticks to well-worn criteria.

There is no taking into ac[count] ... third-party systems, i.e. no Fr[ench,] ... British and no Chinese involve[ment].

Furthermore, the agreement ... global application, which me[ans] ... there will be no shifting of the ... Europa to Asia via relocating S[S-20 de]ployment.

Finally, realiable verification ... lities are demanded to ensure ... parties abide by the agreement.

Gromyko has already reje[cted the] idea of global application, refe[rring to] the Soviet Union's security int[erests in] Asia, in particular vis à vis the ... power China.

Harsh words were uttered ... gard to the failure to include the ... and British missiles in the final ...

However, the Soviet Foreign ... has not slammed shut the do[or to] compromise.

Even in the eventuality of ... ployment this year, Gromyko ... threaten to break off negotiation[s].

The path is still free to a ... solution.

Both sides must now start tak[ing] ... other's security interests more ... and thus remain willing and ... seek a compromise.

The invitation to Chancellor ... visit the Soviet Union announ[ced] ... week can also be seen a signal ... cow's readiness to negotiate.

Walther S...

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, ...)

Soviet poser: are 27 Pershings better than 54?

At long last, Ronald Reagan can be seen heading for an interim agreement at the Geneva disarmament talks.

He has stepped down from his zero-zero approach — no deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europa providing the Soviets remove all theirs — without however abandoning this target as his ultimate objective.

His willingness to compromise was not, however, accompanies by an immediate proposal as such.

Andrei Gromyko has retorted with a firm *Nyet*.

Moscow is sticking to its own version of the zero option, according to which the stationing of just one more new weapon in Europa by the West would jeopardise the possibility of negotiations on the reduction of Soviet potential.

The gulf between the positions taken by the two superpowers is therefore still widening.

However, more important in this respect is the fact that Reagan has opened the door and Gromyko has not slammed it shut.

Serious discussion may nor begin, but only may, since there are still plenty of obstacles on both sides and there is no guarantee of diplomatic success.

The attitude of influential advisers to Reagan in Washington — particularly in the Pentagon — make progress in arms control a difficult task.

They are not genuinely interested in mutual disarmament but primarily in boosting America's arms potential, technologically outdoing the Soviets, and regaining military supremacy, whatever that may mean in this nuclear age.

Their point of view and their yearnings for more weapons don't give disarmament much of a chance.

Reagan is almost forced to side with these "hawks" by his own ideological stance.

Political pressure at home, however, the bulging opposition of the freeze movement, and his own ambitions to serve another term as President prompted the President into showing signs of greater flexibility.

The new American move is certainly late in coming. And what is more, it's still pretty vague: no concrete facts and figures yet.

It looks as if Reagan is leaving it up to the Soviets to make the next move and come up with a counterproposal.

If they don't it will be easier to pass the buck when looking for a scapegoat for the failure of talks in Geneva.

This may not be the most favourable line of negotiation and Reagan may find it hard to stay this course.

US-negotiator, Paul Nitze, is going to have to lay his cards on the table pretty soon and deliver some kind of draft compromise solution from the West.

At first glance, and even at second, the Soviet reaction is not all that encouraging.

Gromyko reiterated what Moscow has been saying for months: If new US weapons are deployed in Western Europe, the Soviets will have to resort to "countermeasures".

The Soviet Foreign Minister referred to the Reagan proposal as quite simply "unacceptable."

And even if he didn't make any threats, or conjure up horror visions of a second Cuban crisis, or pers... sparage the American Preside[nt, there] was no mistaking the toughness ... words.

Nyet doesn't have to be G[romyko's] final word. In regard to the Eu[romissi]les, the Soviets have often alter[ed] course.

This time, however, they are ... have to change a lot more of the ...

They must realise that their ... ensure total "security" means ... security" for everyone else.

They must appreciate the ... they cannot subject Europe to ... kind of missile threat without ... paying them back in their own ...

And they must learn what Rea[gan ap]pears to have learnt: "If we ... missiles, it is better to have ... many."

For the time being, it would ... that the Russians have high hop[es] ... the European peace movement ... vent the missiles from being depl[oyed].

However, despite the troubles ...

Continued on page 15

The German Tribu[ne]

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HOME AFFAIRS

Rapid coalition agreement results in document full of ambiguities

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

[N]ever in the history of the Federal Republic have coalition negotia[tion]s been as quick and smooth as the ... between the CDU/CSU and the ...

[B]ut seldom has a coalition agreement [con]tained so little. It teems with genera... and reads like a horoscope. You read into it what you will.

It is only clear in some of the state[ment]s of principle: for example that the ... should not regiment the people.

[B]ut from beginning to end the docu[men]t is ambiguous. It is written in poor [Ger]man. Turns of phrase are used ... are meant to keep as much as [pos]sible in abeyance.

[Fr]anz-Josef Strauss should not have ... Helmut Kohl with so many empty ... to be filled at will.

[M]ore binding details would have [pro]vided more overview and would [hav]e been easier to control.

Kohl's tendency towards generalities ... are open to interpretation has pro... the Free Democrats, who are ... for consensus, with a broad area [of c]ommon ground.

[Alt]hough there are political reasons for ... an approach, the agreement shows ... indication — or at least does not ... express — that the envisaged [mea]sures will have to be realised milli[met]re by millimetre in the next four [yea]rs.

But, however, it must be said that no [gov]ernment party has ever made as few [cam]paign promises as the CDU/CSU [bef]ore the last election.

On the contrary. All the conservatives [pro]mised was a tightening of belts. De[spite th]is, or perhaps because of it, the con[ser]vatives won.

❛Programme tries to reconcile issues that are not reconcilable❜

[T]he coalition paper is readable be[caus]e it is shallow and hence generally [und]erstandable. It deliberately does not ... any major opinions. So it has be... reduces a collection of pleasing [decl]arations of intent and assurances. It ... innovations.

[Th]e programme tries to reconcile the [irrec]oncilable by speaking of openness [towa]rds the world, progressiveness and [cons]ervatism — all in one breath. It ... to be free enterprise oriented and ...; it upholds tradition and sup[por]ts liberal principles.

[Th]e whole is a kind of political her[ma]phrodite that provides a basis for a [com]promise between the three parties.

[T]his shows that CDU/CSU have ... clear of taking advantage of the [FD]P. Here, Kohl has proved a sound [pol]itical instinct. In return, Hans-Die[tric]h Genscher and Count Lambsdorff [exer]cised political restraint.

[A]nd Strauss, the political fundamen... has acted on the principle that, ... politics in general, coalition talks ... down to the art of the possible. In ... way, he achieved more than he [mig]ht have expected.

[B]y forgoing a cabinet post in Bonn, [he a]chieved more conservative policy [an]d less liberalism. To sum up: Kohl prevailed but Strauss ensured that influence remains.

Here again we have a compromise between the CDU, whose profile has always been somewhat blurred, and the strongly etched Bavarian CSU.

Still, the CDU succeeded in articulating its sympathy for the FDP while the CSU prevailed in insisting that "The Change" be implemented. The FDP successfully stood its ground in between.

Nobody who has analysed the paper can seriously claim that the parties to it have presented the German people with "an historic concept."

The word "reform" that was so badly overtaxed by the first SPD-FDP government (1969-1972) is conspicuous through its absence in the present paper.

The coalition partners deliberately did not artificially streamline their programme. All their plans, arguments and agreements are based on a concept of politics to the effect that hectic frenzy is no programme.

The coalition leaders have thus adopted a stance as formulated by Karl Jaspers in his remarks on Max Weber's political philosophy: Think of the future while doing what is necessary at the moment.

Helmut Kohl, who likes to think of himself as Adenauer's "grandson and heir," actually thinks in the same simple categories as his great idol: What can be our next aim now? "What can feasibly be done?" (Jaspers).

In his election campaign, Kohl called for "honesty." Max Weber said: "Every individual and the nation as a whole is duty-bound to exercise self-discipline and truthfulness."

This also delineates the framework on which this coalition agreement rests. "In political thought and in philosophy, utopias are the means with which to get a clearer grasp of the significance of realities and make the way to an upturn palpable." (Jaspers)

Like Adenauer in the 1950s, Kohl's election victory in March gave him "the power to risk the extraordinary, though also risking his position of power." (Jaspers)

This is an exact description of Chancellor Kohl's political position. It is also a yardstick by which to measure him; but the coalition paper does not exactly set high standards.

With all this in mind, it is well worth while addressing another Karl Jaspers quote to the chancellor: "Does he say and do what the people in this situation unconsciously demand? Does he face the people as a paragon of frankness and truthfulness? Does he awaken sound impulses in the citizens? Does he lend impetus to the earnestness of the public spirit?"

Using this as a yardstick, the coalition agreement falls short. It is a programme of sober rationalism, written in a style of pragmatic self-moderation and almost embarrassingly "normal" in places. It is more serviceable than inspiring, and there is no sign of vision.

The term "change" provides the common ground. A change here — the concept is almost a *leitmotif* of the paper — means getting away from social utopia, forfeiting this in favour of a sober and austere day-to-day grind.

The state, the distributor of justice, calls on society to help itself and thus relieve the state of having to intervene.

It is a lacklustre paper, a political hodgepodge of declarations of intent and catchphrases.

The negotiators formulated political exigencies rather than political ideas.

Yet, in a way, the coalition agreement has some features of ingeniousness. The motto is: Keep in parenthesis, leave out, stay open to all sides.

The very language used is prosaic and noncommittal. From beginning to end, the document operates with ambiguous terminology: Scope for future political action has priority over precision in details and commitment.

The authors, writing in poor German, use turns of phrase meant to keep as much as possible in abeyance.

Take this passage on farm policy: "The promotion threshold for EEC measures is to be reviewed."

Or take judicial policy: "The interior minister is requested to examine whether political extremism and crime among foreigners can be combatted more effectively by broadening the list of offences that make deportation mandatory."

Whenever they were unable to achieve agreement, the negotiators resorted to the formula: "Whether . . . is to be reviewed."

Thus, for instance, the labour minister is now reviewing the possibility of "special hardship provisions for small pensioners through reduced health insurance contributions according to income."

The paper also calls for an "immediate" assessment as to whether "criminal code provisions forbidding demonstrators to cover their faces and passively arm themselves are necessary." And such wishy-washy agreements abound.

Another noncommittal formula is: "The minister in charge is instructed to present a report."

For instance: "about the effects on internal security resulting from the restrictions introduced in the past few years."

Or: "The interior minister is instructed to present a comparative study on legal assistance provisions, taking the following countries into account: Austria, Switzerland, Holland, Britain and Sweden."

The same applies to the abortion provisions under Section 218 of the Criminal Code: "The Reich Insurance Regulations governing Section 218 are to be discussed as soon as the Constitutional Court ruling on this issue has been obtained."

Almost coyly (what about the conservative principles?) the paper goes on to state: "A programme for the protection of unborn life is considered necessary. It must pay special attention to improved counselling, adoption laws and family laws governing equalisation of burdens." The FDP obviously acted as the brakeman here.

In another section of the paper, the coalition partners arrive at "a consensus" cemented by cautious declarations of intent. There are formulations such as "It is agreed that a structural reform of the social security pensions scheme is necessary."

Consensus also exists on "the necessity to encourge foreigners to return to their home countries by permitting them to capitalise their social security claims."

The same applies in the economic policy sector: "The federal government asserts its market economy position in foreign affairs and its domestic market policy in Europe."

The maximum of consensus was achieved in the fiscal policy field where the parties to the agreement also seem most determined to follow through: "The fiscal policy must above all bolster the beginning economic upturn and promote growth impulses that will improve the employment situation."

The sections dealing with the budget and fiscal policy are the most concrete.

But a closer look at the paper shows few political highlights in this respect. In parts of the paper the coalition parties seem to be trying to encourage themselves, using such formulations as "should", "will" or indeed "must" to prevent themselves from seeking a way out.

For example: "Wherever possible, investment spending should remain unaffected by the cutbacks."

❛Lacklustre political hodgepodge of declarations of intent and catchphrases❜

Or: "There must be no shift of burdens from the federal government to the states."

Or: "We will prepare a new income tax rate that will provide relief for the citizen."

The paper then becomes quite concrete on the issue of consolidating the budget: "It is necessary to consolidate federal, state and municipal budgets. Public sector budgets will be improved to the tune of DM38bn to DM40bn between 1984 and 1986, meaning an annual rate of DM6.5bn to DM7bn for the federal budget, DM4.8bn for the states and about DM1.5bn for the municipalities."

The paper is rather accommodating on the issue of the surtax for higher earners: "The surtax is to be levied at the present rate not only for 1983 and 1984 but also for 1985. It is not to be repaid after four but after seven years, i.e. in 1990, 1991 and 1992."

And, finally, the disenchanted citizen is told that he will get no interest on the surtax even under the new arrangement for a later repayment.

Incidentally, the loss in interest corresponds to the amount of the levy.

This is a shaky compromise and there are indications that harsh disputes between the coalition partners have already been programmed.

Deutschlandpolitik and foreign affairs were probably the easiest issues to agree on — at least in outline. But nothing has been laid down in writing.

Security policy has in any event never been a bone of contention between the conservatives and the FDP. They are agreed on upholding the two-track Nato decision and determined to deploy the new generation of intermediate range US missiles should no agreement be reached in Geneva.

The paper says surprisingly little about new initiatives in Bonn's Europe

Continued on page 7





■ JUSTICE

Fraud trial: allegations of biassed, singing, tennis-playing judges



The strange Herstatt Bank trial continues. Three prison sentences have been handed down on charges of fraud and conspiracy to commit fraud involving millions of marks.

As three further accused continue in the dock, the air is still thick with accusations. So far:

- Two judges have been dismissed on the grounds of bias
- Another judge has been accused of being biassed because he played a tennis match with one of the accused who was out on bail.
- A psychologist accused the same judge of lacking credibility.
- Two judges are alleged to have sung a ditty on the courthouse steps about another of the accused.

The court's first sentences (the case has been running for four years) only just beats the statute of limitations.

More accusations have been levelled at some of the defence lawyers who were said to be dragging out the hearing in a deliberate attempt to gain acquittals through the statute of limitations.

Self-employed foreign exchange dealers Norbert Arden and Bruno Blaeser have been respectively given seven-and-a-half and three-and-a-half years' prison.

The bank's own foreign exchange dealer, Bruno Heinen, received four years and nine months. They were charged with fraud and collusion to commit fraud.

The background: On 26 June 1974, the privately owned Iwan D. Herstatt Bank in Cologne was ordered closed by the Federal bank supervision authority in Berlin. The public prosecutor's office investigated the bank for nearly three years, charging the accused with fraud and collusion to commit fraud on 28 October 1977.

According to the prosecution, the foreign exchange speculations of the accused endangered the money of the depositors of both the Herstatt Bank and the Zentralsparkasse in Vienna, causing heavy losses.

When the Herstatt Bank collapsed, the damage was estimated at more than DM1bn though the actual loss suffered by the Herstatt Bank was DM230m.

The beginning of the trial on 23 March 1979 saw eight people in the dock: Iwan D. Herstatt, a personally liable partner in the banking firm; Bernhard von der Goltz, a senior executive; Heinz Hedderich, head of the foreign exchange department; Dany Dattel, foreign exchange dealer; Kurt Wickel, head of the monetary investment department; foreign exchange dealer Bruno Heinen; and the self-employed foreign exchange dealers Arden and Blaeser, who operated from Frankfurt.

The key figure in this foreign exchange roulette, who juggled with billions, Dany Dattel, was certified as suffering from chronic phobias as a result of concentration camp experiences in his childhood and exempted from standing trial.

Reports that Dattel is now privately speculating on foreign exchange markets have not been confirmed.

After 50 trial days, Iwan D. Herstatt was also exempted from trial on health grounds. The charges against him have been dropped.

Herstatt, who claims to be a pauper, regards himelf as the actual victim of the fraud.

The fact that he nevertheless continues to live in Cologne's posh Marienburg suburb is attributed to family support.

There were recent newspaper reports to the effect that Herstatt was trying his hand at selling sparkling wine. Other than that, little is known about his present activities and the man who was once the focal point of Cologne society is clearly out of the limelight.

There was a time when it was the in thing to have an account with the Herstatt Bank which nobody would touch with a bargepole today.

In a race against the statute of limitations that would have stopped any further prosecution, the court split the trial of the six remaining defendants into two parallel but separate proceedings.

The fraud committed by Arden, Blaeser and Heinen dates back to 1973 and was due to fall under the statute of limitations this summer. Speed in arriving at a sentence was therefore essential.

The crimes with which von Goltz, Wickel and Hedderich have been charged will not be protected by the statute of limitations until mid-1984, leaving the court some time to arrive at a verdict.

In sentencing Norbert Arden, Bruno Blaeser and Bruno Heinen, the court said it had conclusive evidence that Arden and Blaeser had defrauded the Zentralsparkasse, Vienna, of about DM7m and that the three together had fraudently caused the Herstatt Bank to lose about DM69m.

The foreign exchange speculations invariably followed the same pattern. In dollar futures deals, the bank sold short, hoping that the dollar exchange rate would go down by the time it had to deliver.

Suppose the bank sold £1bn on 31 March 1973, to be credited to the buyer on 30 June of that year at DM3 per dollar. If, as the dealers expected, the dollar exchange rate was down to DM2.50 by 30 June, the bank would have stood to make a profit of DM500m.

But that was a high risk game for if the dollar exchange rate rose to DM3.50, the bank would have lost DM500m.

Before the spectacular losses that led to the closure of the Herstatt Bank became evident, the three had already helped themselves.

As long as the dollar exchange rate declined, the three speculated for the Herstatt Bank and the Zentralsparkasse but, by cooking the books, managed to manipulate the lion's share of the profits into their own accounts. This is the way the court saw it.

The Herstatt trial is regarded as the most difficult and complicated economic crime trial in Germany's history.

The intricate foreign exchange deals have not only hampered the investigation but made the trial itself drag on; and the defence used every legal trick to lengthen the proceedings in an effort to get acquittals through the statute of limitations.

In many instances, the prosecution claimed that the defence lawyers were obstructing the course of justice.

The defence, on the other hand, maintained that the two separate trials had been downgraded to a farce.

There were many tugs-of-war between the defence and the prosecution over the defending lawyers' motions to have individual judges on the panel dismissed on the grounds of bias.

Had the motions been upheld, the trial would have been lengthened to the point where the accused wo[...] off scot-free.

Two judges were actually [...] from the panel because the[...] become obvious.

One of them, Achim Vo[...] called one defence lawyer's [...]bish"; and the other, Horst R[...] dismissed because he had app[...] expert who was already w[...] Hans Gerling (the Herstatt B[...] stockholder), helping him [...] millions in damage claims.

Since last summer, the tri[...]ed before a panel without s[...]ges.

This means that if only on[...] the three-man panel became [...] dismissed on grounds of bi[...] would have had to be discont[...]

This can still happen despi[...] that all motions of bias hav[...]jected so far.

A higher court could still [...] or the other of the motions [...] certain that the three senten[...] exchange dealers will appeal.

This means that a higher c[...] have to decide whether a te[...] between Judge Christoph E[...] the accused Bruno Heinen [...] declare the judge biased.

After the match with th[...] who was free on bail, the tw[...] to have discussed the trial a[...]sible verdict over a beer. Hei[...] to have been told that he w[...]quitted. This was a somewhat [...]nion as it turned out — if [...]pressed at all.

In court, Judge Eggert rej[...]nen's contention to that effe[...] admitted having played te[...] him. The tennis match alon[...] enough to disqualify him for [...] incident prompted the defen[...]tain a psychologist's opinio[...]nen's credibility.

The psychologist certified [...] being "essentially fully credib[...]

Commenting on Judge Egg[...] he did not examine, the ps[...] said that his statements lacked [...]ty. This is only one of the man[...] incidents in this trial.

Later, Heinen's lawyer dis[...] own client's credibility in a [...] context.

Heinen had told the court tha[...]yer had informed him of a co[...] between Judges Eggert and Höppner, alleging that the [...] sung on the courthouse stairs: [...] will be sentenced, Arden wil[...]tenced."

If this actually happened, i[...] have been grounds enough [...] both judges for bias. But acc[...] Heinen's lawyer, he was misl[...] by his client.

In any event, the first lap in [...]statt trial has been completed de[...] obstacles.

Except in the case of Brun[...] (who received less than the si[...] manded by the prosecution), [...] more or less followed Pr[...] Manfred Willems' demands. [...] called for maximum sentences [...]terrent.

The fact that the sentence[...] handed down at all shows mo[...] than many had expected.

Even so, the outcome of the [...]portant other trial involving [...] Goltz, Hedderich and Wickel — [...] whom were top Herstatt Bank [...]ves — is still wide open. But the[...]ces that were pronounced bod[...] the remaining accused.

Wolfgang Ho[...]

(Die Zeit, [...])

Construction scandal fugitive arrested in West Indies

Former Berlin construction tycoon Dietrich Garski, 52, fugitive after the financial scandal that indirectly toppled the SPD/FDP Berlin government in 1981, has been arrested in the Dutch Antilles in the West Indies.

Berlin, which had guaranteed Garski's bank loans in connection with a Middle East construction project (in the end throwing DM25.8m of good money after bad), lost a total of DM93m.

The Bonn Justice Ministry is now negotiating Garski's extradition with the Dutch government. An international arrest warrant was issued for Garski in 1982.

Dietrich Garski, a card-carrying FDP member, was last seen in Berlin on 8 December 1980, a week before the public prosecutor issued a search warrant for his company, Bautechnik KG.

The people who saw him that day happened to have been executive of Berliner Bank, the bank that later had to write off the loans made to him. In apparent holiday mood, he was checking in for a flight to Zurich.

Since there was no arrest warrant for him at that time, he was able to soak up the Bahamas sun together with his former secretary, unmolested by the law.

When some nosy newmen found him in the Bahamas, he packed his bags and went to Toronto, Canada, via Australia. He had excellent contacts in Toronto where, in 1972, he had invested DM43m in a bank, and had other commercial interests.

After the Interpol arrest warrant of July 1982 was issued. Toronto got too hot for him. Using a forged German passport, he managed to escape to Miami and from there to the Antilles, where he was arrested.

His arrest could provide the former Berlin Senate, which was toppled by his machinations, with an opportunity to rehabilitate itself in the course of court proceedings.

"The mills of justice grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small," ex-Berlin Mayor Dietrich Stobbe (SPD) and now Berlin member of the Bundestag, told the New York correspondent of *Die Welt*.

Continued on page 5

Continued from page 4

[...]Ex-Deputy Mayor and Economic Af[...]rs Senator Wolfgang Lüder (who was [...]pped by his own party, the FDP, [...]e wake of the scandal) also pins his [...]es on a trial.

"I'm relieved about the possible op[...]tunity of shedding light on the [...]ole affair," he said.

The Berliner Bank is bound to sue [...]rski for damages, though it is unlike[...] that he has any assets that could be [...]ed in Germany.

[...]ke Lüder, ex-Finance Senator [...]us Riebschläger was questioned by [...] prosecutor's office in connection [...] the Garski investigation last year.

Riebschläger, who was the only Ber[...] politician to voice his doubts about [...] Garski deal to both the banks and [...] Senate, learned about Garski's [...]st while on holiday.

His terse comment: "It's in the hands [...] the Justice Department now."

The business deals of the construc[...] tycoon not only destroyed the ca[...]s of politicians who might otherwise [...]ll be governing Berlin; they also forc[...] Berliner Bank board member Jakob [...]hren to retire prematurely.

Garski drove dozens of small and [...]dium firms into bankruptcy. Many [...]ple became jobless.

Stobbe's successor, Hans-Jochen [...]el, tightened up on guarantees by [...] Senate to the point where money [...]came unavailable even for minor pro[...]ts.

H. Karutz/F. Diederichs

(Die Welt, 7 April 1983)

■ PEOPLE

Barzel, the man who almost became Chancellor

Hamburger Abendblatt

Rainer Barzel, the new Bundestag Speaker, has endured more chan[...] of fortune than most politicians. [...]d he has come through unscathed. Becoming Speaker of the Bundestag [...]not Barzel's political dream come [...]e.

He wanted to be Chancellor. Ten [...]ars ago, he nearly made it. He failed [...] two Bundestag votes.

In 1972, he failed to unseat Chancel[...] Willy Brandt (SPD) through what is [...]own in this country as a "construct[...] vote of no confidence."

Quips Barzel: "You have to be able [...] take this sort of thing, and that's [...]actly what I did."

He never showed any outward signs [...] bitterness over his destiny.

Ten years Barzel summed up the rea[...]ns for the no confidence vote in the [...]ndestag that put Helmut Kohl into [...]wer.

"There are times when I feel like [...]mebody who was promised by the [...]od Lord that he would have a lot to [...] with colours in his life and then [...]ds himself becoming a house painter [...]ther than an artist," he told Swiss [...]urnalist Rolf Bigler.

Instead of becoming a housepainter, [...]ainer Candidus Barzel became minis[...]r for Intra-German affairs, a post he [...]d held 20 earlier under Konrad Ade[...]uer.



Rainer Barzel

(Photo: Sven Simon)

In the short time he held this portfolio under Helmut Kohl — a portfolio the SPD-FDP coalition had downgraded to the point of significance — he managed to add new lustre to it.

Knowing this is bound to have made it easier for him to give up his cabinet post in favour of the speaker's gavel. Moreover, his present function is a splendid starting off point when it comes to electing President Karl Carstens' successor in 1984.

But Barzel's private life has also become sunnier. Since May 1982 he has been married to attractive and intelligent Helga Henselder, who is also politically active in the Rhineland-Palatinate CDU.

Barzel's first wife, Kriemhild, died in 1980 after a long illness. His only daughter, Claudia, committed suicide in 1977.

Today, Barzel gives the impression of a man at peace whose past experience has added to his wisdom.

The days when Bonn regarded him as the epitome of the smooth and glib politician are long gone.

His political creed has been outlined in his book *Unterwegs. Woher und Wohin?* (En Route. Whence and Whither?)

Wrote Barzel: "By never tiring in demanding human rights for all Germans and fighting for more liberties we can prove that there is a renewed Germany."

Einar Koch

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 29 March 1983)



Heinrich Windelen (right) faces Bundestag Speaker Rainer Barzel as he is sworn in as Minister of Intra-German Affairs. At his elbow is Chancellor Kohl.

(Photo: AP)

Windelen, a quiet politician who sometimes thumps the table

Heinrich Windelen (CDU), who succeeds Rainer Barzel as Minister for Intra-German Affairs, is generally regarded as one of Germany's less vociferous politicians.

But he has been known to thump the table when addressing various organisations of German repatriates from the East.

Windelen was born in Silesia in 1921. He is a Catholic and is married with four children.

He joined the CDU in 1946 and has been a member of the Bundestag since 1957, and is one of that older generation of MPs who manage to get along without much image building.

In the previous Bundestag, he was one of the four deputy speakers.

Windelen is qualified for his new post not only through his extensive parliamentary experience, initially concerned with refugee work. He was also Bonn Minister for Repatriates, Refugees and War Invalids from February to October 1969, when the ministry was dissolved.

It was during that time that the extensive *Lastenausgleich* legislation (governing compensation) was drafted.

Windelen was a tough opponent of the SPD-FDP *Ostpolitik* in its early stages and canvassed CDU/CSU MPs to persuade them to abstain in the voting on the treaty with Moscow.

He was also an outspoken opponent of the Warsaw Treaty because of the Oder-Neisse line issue which the treaty left open, thus meeting Polish demands.

Windelen has always held top posts in the CDU. He has been a member of the national executive committee since 1965 and was deputy CDU/CSU floor leader for more than ten years.

In 1977 he became the chairman of the Bundestag budget committee (after giving up the chairmanship of his party's Westphalia-Lippe chapter in favour of Kurt Biedenkopf). Due to the limited scope given to the minister for intra-German affairs (German-German policy is drawn up at the Chancellery), Windelen will be hard pressed to assert himself in his new office.

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 31 March 1983)

New farm chief comes out of the blue

The new Agriculture Minister, the CSU's Ignaz Kiechle, is an unknown. The first time most people came to hear his name was when he was appointed.

He has remained largely unknown outside his constituency despite playing an important role in Bonn.

As deputy CDU/CSU floor leader and his party's agricultural spokesman, Kiechle was an integral part of the Bonn establishment.

Expert circles have for some time regarded him as a man of high intelligence who has been widely underestimated.

This underestimation might have something to do with his lack of formal education. He is the only member of Kohl's cabinet who is not a university (and indeed even a high school) graduate.

He made up for this with a will to learn and by attending various specialised courses.

His SPD challenger in his constituency, the writer Dieter Lattmann, once described him as hale, hearty and pear-shaped.

There are those who regard Kiechle as the epitome of Bavarian joviality and a new edition of his predecessors at Agriculture, Josef Ertl and Hermann Höcherl.

Yet he is not really a Bavarian in the strict sense. He comes from the Oberallgäu, the place reputed to have Germany's most contented cows.

In other words, he is a sort of Bavarian Swabian and as a result quite different from Höcherl and Ertl, both of whom are full-blooded Bavarians.

But unlike his predecessors, Kiechle is a true working farmer. Before being elected to the Bundestag in 1969, he ran a 14-hectare dairy farm that has been in his family since 1732.

He still lives on the farm when not in Bonn, though he now has it worked by neighbouring farmers.

He intends to keep it in case one of his four children (a boy and three girls) decides to take up farming.

Kiechle was the managing partner of an agricultural publishing house until becoming a cabinet member.

He is unlikely to attack the EEC system of farm subsidies, illogical though it might be, nor is he likely to change the Ministry's consumer policy or take any determined ecological and animal protection action.

Kiechle has no problems with his party, either specialised or general. But he is also no trumpeter of his party's virtues. He prefer to work inconspicuously, with a strong sense of purpose.

Rudolf Grosskopff

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 10 April 1983)



Ignaz Kiechle

(Photo: Werek)

■ AGRICULTURE

Battle for the stomachs of the world: grains of truth on both sides

The head-on collision over farm exports between the USA and the EEC was predictable; yet the policy makers on both sides feel that their actions have been right.

I'm always surprised to see how the Community gets unjustly criticised for its agricultural policy — especially by the USA," says Paul Dalsager, member of the EEC Commission and concerned with agricultural affairs.

But US policy is guided more by self-interest than by the code of conduct tediously worked out over the years by the Tokyo round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gatt).

Quipped US Agricultural Secretary Block in Congress in January: "We must teach somebody a lesson."

At that time, Block knew that his officials were about to land a huge wheat flour deal with Egypt that would cut Western sales to that country by 90 per cent.

The "lesson" Block taught the EEC in Egypt is only the most spectacular of a series of US reprisals for what the Washington Administration calls the Community's "impermissible" subsidies of farm exports paid out of Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) funds.

The fact is that EEC agricultural exporters would be hard pressed to find buyers if they were to offer the goods at prices paid to Community producers, which are 40 per cent above world market prices.

But then, world market prices are determined by the USA: The most important single criterion for the subsidies the CAP pays to exporters is the price on America's domestic market.

Pricing dilemma

These prices, balanced against those of the next most important agricultural exporters (Australia and Canada), account for the difference between world market prices and the higher domestic prices guaranteed by the EEC to its farmers.

EEC exporters can calculate on the basis of internal Community prices because the difference between those and world market prices is made up for by the CAP.

But due to the EEC Commission's extremely cautious periodical price fixing, Community exporters are in no position to undercut US prices without running up losses.

By the same token, US exporters can do exactly this — not directly but via exceptionally soft export credits or by exporting within the framework of non-repayable development aid.

Thus, for instance, state guaranteed American wheat credits — as in the case of Portugal and Zaire recently — have been granted over periods of up to 40 years.

French wheat salesmen therefore stood no chance in Morocco when their US competitors threw in a road and a harbour installation as a bonus to go with their shipments.

Said Block to a Congressional committee: "What we're talking about here is credits and not subsidies."

But in its "blitzkrieg action" (Bonn



Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff) in Cairo the US for the first time also resorted to direct and open subsidies that made the overall price for the one million tons of wheat flour about 25 per cent cheaper than the cheapest flour to be had on the market today.

A spokesman for the EEC Commission: "At that price you cannot even buy unharvested grain, let alone flour."

President Reagan's farm exporters have become aggressive lately, as borne out by Department of Commerce Under Secretary Brock who said: "If the Europeans are unable to export without subsidies, let the keep their stuff at home instead of spoiling world markets."

But the EEC Commission figures that America's federal farm subsidies (i.e. without state subsidies) for surpluses amount to 37.6 per cent and are thus in line with the 39.2 per cent subsidies by the EEC and its individual member states.

The Community nations are particularly angered about American accusations that their agricultural policy is unfair and illegal towards America's honest and free-trading farmers.

A paper by the EEC Commission rebuts the American allegations, saying: "On the subject of import restrictions: US criticism of the CAP is ironic because the USA — unlike the EEC — has enjoyed special, temporary, exemptions from Gatt rules since 1955 and has not had to abide by Gatt regulations governing agricultural goods. Under these exemptions, the USA has been at liberty to apply import restrictions to products which it subsidises, such as cotton, sugar, peanuts and dairy products."

And indeed, the US authorities do not hesitate to close their border to imports from Europe and other countries whenever their own producers chafe under foreign competition. In the past few years, this has applied to cheese, wine and spaghetti.

But by the same token, the Americans raise no end of a ruckus when the Community tries to stop its market from being flooded with American farm products. Thus, for instance, US animal feed (soya bean and maize based) and manioc starch have managed to displace close to half of the Community's feed grain from its own market over the past few years.

Last year, when farm associations — spearheaded by France — called for barriers against further US market shares in Europe in this field, both houses of Congress threatened countermeasures following a motion by representatives from Illinois, the state that houses the two export companies that account for one-quarter of the maize-based animal feed exporter to Europe.

The EEC paper: "We are told by the Washington Administration that the USA considers its access to the Common market non-negotiable."

But it was not until the flour coup — the US had meanwhile also started negotiating a subsidised butter deal with Cairo that will make it impossible for the Community to sell its surplus butter to Egypt — that the otherwise restrained Commission became really angry, saying:

"It is out of the question to re-negotiate the Gatt rules governing international trade in agricultural products and the system of export subsidies — especially so shortly after the closing of the Tokyo Round which achieved a balanced agreement after years of protracted and tedious negotiations.

"What is more, it seems arbitrary and illogical to criticise the EEC for its export subsidies without examining the export subsidies of the other parties to the Gatt agreement, including such US procedures as surplus sales coupled with 'mixed credits' and other interest subsidies."

In the past 18 months, America has initiated eight Gatt investigations of EEC agricultural practices, making it clear, according to the Commission paper, that "the USA expects the Community to change its CAP should the investigations show the procedure to be faulty."

US representatives have said that they want to bring about a change in the Gatt rules should the investigations arrive at conclusions unfavourable to America. It's like flipping a coin.

Are Wild West rules to predominate on agricultural markets in the future?

Both parties, the USA and the EEC, the world's major producers of farm products, are equally responsible for the present clash.

They have brought it about through protectionist subsidies that virtually guaranteed growing surpluses and through their economic and monetary policies that have made it increasingly difficult for buyers to pay for the goods.

Secure and guaranteed domestic markets led to growing surpluses and the need to export.

In the past ten years, EEC farm exports have risen by 513 per cent and those of the USA by 536 per cent.

The trouble is that the most important buyer countries, the populous Third World nations and the East Bloc, are in financial trouble. They have suffered most in the areas most likely to enable them to earn foreign exchange with which to pay for agricultural imports due to America's monetary policy and the world-wide recession.

A trade war between such agricultural surplus countries as the USA, the EEC, Canada and Australia would not necessarily result in advantages for the Third World as a whole.

Some of the developing countries, especially in Africa, could derive short-term profits from "the worst and bloodiest of subsidy wars" which the surplus countries are preparing to wage, according to Brussels experts; but temporarily cheaper farm imports would not solve the Third World's food problems.

The reason is that too low prices paid to their own farmers and too low incomes of the urban population would contribute much more to Third World famine than absolute food shortages.

The representative of one West African nation: "A price war between the major surplus countries would wreck our tediously developed selfsufficiency programme."

Some threshold countries [illegible] developed to the point where [illegible] produce enough food for [illegible] and even export to other Th[illegible] nations — such as India and [illegible] — are also irked by the price [illegible] tions of the major producers. [illegible] applies to countries like Arge[illegible] ditionally an agricultural expo[illegible]

A Latin American diplomat [illegible] sels says: "No Third World co[illegible] keep pace with American and [illegible] agricultural investments; nor [illegible] keep pace with their aggressi[illegible] policy. We're falling further a[illegible] behind, to the point where we [illegible] tually not only be pushed out [illegible] markets but also out of our ho[illegible] kets."

In the current dispute — [illegible] for the time being to Americ[illegible] EEC — the Community defe[illegible] against American accusations [illegible] ing to its correct trade con[illegible] arguing that it is only trying to [illegible] traditional share of farm expor[illegible]

Figures substantiate this: [illegible] EEC countries have accou[illegible] about ten per cent of farm exp[illegible] the past two decades (15 per ce[illegible] case of wheat). While the v[illegible] farm exports has remained [illegible] unchanged, the trade volume [illegible] has multiplied during the sam[illegible] with the attendant risks.

Dalsager sees the risks clear[illegible] higher the export volume both [illegible] lute terms and relative to pro[illegible] the more the current cyclical [illegible] on world markets make itself fe[illegible] porting countries. This means [illegible] USA is feeling the recession m[illegible] sharply than the Community."

While the EEC last season [illegible] exported 14 million tons of [illegible] wheat production of 59 million [illegible] USA exported 49 million ton[illegible] million ton production.

US production, which gre[illegible] until the mid-1970s and was [illegible] ly larger than that of the EEC [illegible] rising disproportionately from [illegible] ward, increasing by close to [illegible] (58 million tons) while dome[illegible] sumption was stagnating or de[illegible]

Small wonder, then, that Wa[illegible] is prepared to resort to any mea[illegible] soever to sell its surpluses [illegible] markets.

Backfiring

But the Reagan Administra[illegible] consistencies in this respect are [illegible] singly backfiring now.

Ronald Reagan's campaign p[illegible] to the wheat and maize baron[illegible] American South and Midwest [illegible] production, resulting in surplu[illegible] falling prices.

This, in turn, has resulted in [illegible] ties in the foreign affairs secto[illegible] Europeans were clearly upset wh[illegible] sident Reagan decided to sell g[illegible] the Soviets while at the same t[illegible] tempting to thwart the Europea[illegible] sian gas deal. To top it, he insi[illegible] agricultural embargos becau[illegible] Poland and Afghanistan.

By starting his frontal attack o[illegible] ropean farm export markets on [illegible] of the Williamsburg, Va., summit [illegible] ing of the most important West[illegible] dustrial nations in May, the p[illegible] has turned partners into staunch [illegible] nents of his next economic of[illegible] against the Soviet Union.

Heimo C[illegible]

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonnta[illegible])

TRADE

[I]ndustry lukewarm towards exhibiting in Japan

[P]lans to hold a German industrial show in Tokyo are being set back [beca]use German business has shown [little] interest. There are 95 exhibitors so [far]. But many major industrial names [are] missing.

[A]nd many of those who have agreed [to t]ake part are doing so on a modest [scal]e.

[Th]e response has been so bad that in[dustr]y and the various associations [have] virtually been begged to take part.

[R]egistration time was extended by [tw]o months until the end of March. [Bu]t it does look as if the 8,200 square [met]res available will, after all, be taken [up].

[Y]et the exhibition is regarded impor[tant]ly in Bonn. It is the first government [org]anised show to be held in a foreign [cou]ntry.

[I]t is an attempt to boost Germany's [fla]gging reputation in Japan, and [thr]ough this, improve sales.

One reason for the poor response is [tha]t public relations work in Germany [has] been neglected. Another is that [the]re has been a lack of coordination [bet]ween the many groups involved in [put]ting the show together.

[T]wo statements reflect what Japanese [bus]iness thinks about German industry: [The] first is by Bunpei Otsuki, president [of] the Japanese employers' association.

"There was a time when West Germa[n]y's industrial performance was ad[mir]ed by the whole world. But this per[for]mance has been declining for years [and] is the main reason for Germany's [low] growth figures. Frankly, I believe [the] Germans must work harder."

The second is by Sony's president [Nor]io Ohga: "When I was young, eve[ry]thing we coveted came from Germa[ny]. But the Germans have had no get-[up-]and-go for some time, and the image [of] German goods has been declining [rap]idly. West Germany's electronic in[dus]try is a particularly deplorable case, [an]d we're not at all happy about it. [Wh]at we would like is for German in[dus]try to become a competitor to rec[kon] with once more."

Japan's Prime Minister Nakasone in [a] television interview spoke of the "[We]st German sickness."

This turn of phrase has become a sta[ple] of the Japanese press, and it is fre[quen]tly the self-pitying Germans them[selve]s who fuel the image.

[In] a recent issue, the daily *Asahi [Sh]imbun* presented Germany as a warn[ing] example of what Japan should be[wa]re of becoming.

The image of the unmotivated Ger[ma]n industrial worker and the German [ent]repreneur who avoids risks has be[com]e so ingrained in Japan that the Ja[pane]se ignore such things as the Ger[ma]n trade surplus in 1982 and the im[pro]vement and present surplus in the [cur]rent account.

[It] will therefore take a considerable [eff]orts to restore German industry's [ima]ge as a leading technological power [in] Japan, the most important competi[tor].

The Tokyo show will only be able to [hel]p if it is not aimed at short-term [go]als and is accessible only to the [tra]de; it must aim at long-term effects [on] the public.

It should be open to the public and exhibit breakthrough technology and present a representative cross-section of quality goods labelled "Made in Germany".

Typically, no industrial association has said it will send a permanent representative to Japan to study new developments and strategies of Japanese competitors.

There is clearly little willingness by German companies to invest in Japan on more than a short-term basis nor is there much evidence of courage to advance into the lion's den.

Many important German companies are virtually unknown in Japan. The public is familiar only with the major automakers, with Solingen cutlery and some popular gift items like Montblanc fountain pens.

Few Japanese have ever heard of a technologically so important company as the German aerospace leader MBB.

Nor do the Japanese know that Germany has a very successful computer company: Nixdorf.

Nobody has heard of Mannesmann. And all the average Japanese knows about Siemens is that company was involved in a graft scandal with the Japanese navy before World War I. Despite its cooperation with the Japanese computer and robot maker Fujitsu, Siemens has fallen behind in that field. Siemens electronics products, though sold under its own name, are largely made with Japanese components. And Japanese who have to see a dentist or stay in a hospital might know that Siemens makes medical equipment.

At least Siemens is one of the participants in Tokyo. MBB should also attend with some of its space and aviation technology (at least with the helicopters it jointly makes with Japan's Kawasaki). There is no need for MBB to exhibit any of its weapons systems.

It would be particularly sensational if MBB and Krauss-Maffei could agree to show their magnet-operated Transrapid train which was first presented in Munich.

Japan's state railway system has for years been working on the development of this type of technology.

Gebhard Hielscher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28 March 1983)

Exports to / Trade with Germany / Imports from

1982 figures in DM billions

Exports to	DM bn	Imports from	DM bn
France	60.1	The Netherlands	46.0
The Netherlands	36.2	France	42.9
Italy	32.4	Italy	28.7
Britain	31.3	America	28.2
Bel/Lux	31.1	Britain	27.1
USA	28.1	Bel/Lux	25.5
Switz	21.7	Switz	12.9
Austria	20.6	Japan	12.6
Sweden	11.4	USSR	11.4
USSR	9.4	Austria	11.1
Saudi Arabia	8.5	Saudi Arabia	10.6
Denmark	8.5	Norway	9.9

Competition puts exports under increasing competition

German companies have remained competitive on world markets despite tougher competition. Long-range prospects are also favourable, according to a DIHT survey of the Chamber of Foreign Trade (AHK).

But the German export industry has become more vulnerable than the survey seems to indicate.

Quite apart from incalculable political risks and protectionist trends, there are weak points that have been disguised by, among other things, the low deutschemark exchange rate.

The DIHT survey encompassed 42 countries accounting for more than four-fifths of Germany's foreign trade and 90 per cent of its foreign investments.

The main reasons for the competitiveness is the high quality of its products, the deutschemark exchange rate; and a favourable assortment of goods tailor-made — especially in the capital goods sector — to match the demand on world markets.

Prices of German goods have risen less steeply than those of competing countries.

But Germany's position does not present a uniform picture on all of the world markets.

The improvement is accounted for primarily by the American and a number of other markets in dollar-oriented countries such as Canada, Mexico and Venezuela. The same applies to New Zealand, India and Saudi Arabia.

Germany's position on European markets has remained largely unchanged, though there are considerable differences from country to country.

While the position of German exporters in France and Britain has improved, it has deteriorated in the Benelux countries.

In Japan and Korea, Germany's position has been declining steeply in the past few years.

German business is coming under increasing pressure from foreign competitors. This applies to both competition from producers in the importing country itself and to foreign competition.

Local competition in Holland, for example, has become stiffer. In addition, German exporters are being thwarted by nationalisation drives and protectionist practices.

Venezuela has introduced protectionist tariffs while France and Britain have embarked on "Buy French" and "Buy British" campaigns.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 25 March 1983)

Level of foreign investment is maintained

German business invested close to DM10bn abroad last year despite the recession at home, according to the Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry.

The lion's share (DM3.275bn) went to the USA, which remains the most important country for German investments abroad.

Last year's DM9.76bn direct investments abroad almost matched the previous year's record figure.

More than DM7.5bn went to industrial countries and DM2.2bn to developing nations.

The USA is followed by Britain (DM1bn), Belgium/Luxembourg (DM750m), Brazil (DM600m) and Holland (DM550m).

Like before, much of the investments abroad was in the road vehicles industry (DM1bn) followed by electrical engineering and banking (DM900m).

Foreign direct investments in the Federal Republic of Germany hit a new record since 1975. The biggest share was accounted for by the USA (DM1.2bn) followed by Britain.

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 30 March 1983)

Continued from page 3

policy, although the chancellor and the foreign minister are planning some rhetorics on this issue.

There is virtually no active *Ostpolitik*, whose aim is summed up rather generally as "peaceful coexistence and good relations".

Strauss' ideas are clearly in evidence: *Deutschlandpolitik* is to become a tit-for-tat affair, a policy of nuances with course corrections where needed.

The paper provides a framework tenuously held together by a few basic data.

The biting criticism by the CDU social affairs committees is only too understandable: there are too many catchphrases, with the substance still to be delivered.

Granted, a coalition agreement cannot lyricise nor can it be a declaration of love.

The document expresses agreement on a limited business deal with joint liability. It is boring rather than progressive and of an only just tolerable mediocrity that would perhaps have been applicable to normal times.

All that can be said for it is that it does not resort to any kind of political euphoria.

What is articulates is the politically necessary and obvious.

It is a programme that can be termed politically consistent though it has steered clear of attributing specific values. It is anything but a political timetable for the year 2000.

Alois Rummel

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 8 April 1983)



■ MINORITY GROUPS

Commission recommends changes in the regulations governing foreigners

Foreigners would have to carry passports with them at all times, and would not be given an extended residence permit if they did not have a job and "a proper and adequate" place to live in.

These are two of the recommendations by a special body set up to investigate changes to regulations governing foreigners in Germany.

The commission is made up of representatives of the Federal government, the *Länder* and local authorities.

Their report is informative, but is in such abstract language that it is unlikely to help decision making.

Its recommendations have also run into opposition from a variety of pressure groups representing foreigners in Germany.

The issue of foreigners is a major one. It was originally one of the most important themes during coalition talks between the CDU, the CSU and the FDP.

They were unable to pass any resolutions. All they could agree on was that:

- a reduction in the number of foreigners in Germany is necessary
- foreigners should be encouraged to return home
- a limit should be set to the number of family members coming to join the bread-winner in Germany.

The talks revealed big differences on important points. The CDU/CSU, for example, wants the maximum age that foreign children are allowed to come to join their parents reduced from the current 16 years to six. The FDP wants no reduction.

A major stumbling block to reaching agreement on policy is the difficulty of deciding on measures that are:

- effective
- legally beyond dispute
- practicable

The pros and cons of the 200-page commission report are not purely legal.

There are just as many references to basic (human rights), human dignity, ethical demands and moral obligations.

It is inevitable that such a report has to be compiled with some detachment.

And yet the 'experts' would seem to have gone too far. The language reflects an exaggeratedly abstract approach.

Those affected by the report's recommendations have termed the wording "cynical" and this is certainly not incorrect. In a first statement issued by a group of foreigners' initiatives and spokesmen for various groups of foreigners, the helpless anger of the target group was articulated as follows:

"The aim is not to overcome the current crisis in solidarity with the foreigners but at their expense.

Foreigners are not respected in their human dignity and their natural desire for equal rights, but are reduced to their economic utility value."

And now that this "utility value" has dropped to zero level or even below zero, the report's main concern would seem to be how to get rid of the now superfluous foreigners as soon as possible. Many of the recommendations aimed at curtailing the rights of foreigners met with strong criticism.

The church, the DGB (Federation of German Trade Unions), the German Red Cross, the workers' welfare association, the Caritas Organisation, employers federation and the representative of the Refugees' Commission, have all had their say.

The commission report recommended: *that those foreigners living permanently in Germany be integrated; that the influx be limited*, "in particular the unqualified continuation of the recruitment ban, irrespective of economic developments; and that foreigners should be encouraged to return home. It says that on no account should anybody be forced to leave.

In order to prevent foreigners who come to be trained in Germany from continually extending their period of training and then deciding to stay, the aim will be to prevent "an occupational integration from becoming de facto integration".

Recommendations centre on maximum study periods, limitations of training possibilities and the obligations to learn the German language within the first year.

A residence permit should only then be extended if the foreigner proves that he can earn a living, has a proper and adequate place to live and providing there have been no "substantial violations" of German law.

This recommendation caused most indignation. It means: unemployed foreigners are kindly requeste[d] the Federal Republic of Ge[...] they are not able to find a pl[...] for themselves and their fami[...] comes up to our standards.

Anyone who failed to reg[...] the police, who failed to send [...] dren to school or who did not [...] residence permit on time, wo[...] his right to stay in the Federal R[...]

There was much oppositio[...] part. The employers were the c[...] which felt that "adequate liv[...] ters" and "reasonable chanc[...] ing employment" ought to e[...] the foreigner be allowed to sta[...] many. The churches, unions and [...] sure groups, on the other hand, [...] that the blame for poor housi[...] not be laid at the door of forei[...]

Socio-political problems co[...] solved by legal restrictions.

Among other things, the fo[...] suggested in an effort to preve[...] illegally staying: foreigners s[...] obliged to carry their passp[...] them "at all times".

The spokesmen for the groups of foreigners pointed [...] such discriminating stipulati[...] only known to exist in the rac[...] of South Africa.

This would virtually mean th[...] one, including Germans, mu[...] carry an identity card of somes[...]

Anyone suspected of being [...] gner could then be detained b[...] thorities at will.

Nobody is denying the fer[...] the effort put into the repor[...] issue by the commissions in qu[...]

However, this has not red[...] danger that the discussion on a[...] the aliens law will not centre on [...] idea of integration but around [...] of deportation.

Adi[...]

(Deutsches Allgemeines S[...])

Politicians run into criticism in talks about aliens' problems

Fifty per cent of hostility towards foreigners in the Federal Republic is caused by "politicians talking too much", according to a Spanish clergyman.

His remark, at a meeting in Frankfurt which dealt with foreigners living in Germany, was to some extent typical of the prevailing mood: politicians of no political colour emerged in a favourable light.

The meeting was organised by the Catholic Rabanus Maurus Academy; the Evangelical Academy, Arnoldshain; and the federation of German trade unions (DGB).

One university chaplain from Frankfurt, responsible for the spiritual welfare of foreign students, asked whether a "coalition of expertise" was up against a "coalition of the big political parties".

Theoreticians and those practically involved in work with foreigners came together to talk about what the educational institutions could and most do to improve the existing mood in relations between Germans and foreigners.

"Political action is necessary" said the member of the DGB executive, Bleicher.

There was unanimous agreement that more information was necessary on this issue, both for Germans and for the foreigners themselves as well as for the politicians.

Particularly the latter were very often in the dark on the problems facing foreigners.

The representatives of the important churches and unions agreed that it was necessary to eliminate the hostile mood towards foreigners, which undoubtedly exists and which is usually based on a lack of understanding of the true nature of the problems at hand.

They also rejected the current efforts by politicians aimed at coming to terms with the "problem of foreigners".

Bleicher found fault with the fact that there has been no special policy approach on this issue during the past and that the announcement by the CDU/CSU to cut back the number of foreigners by half by 1990 did not represent a true "contribution towards the often proclaimed social integration of foreigners".

Politicians must wake up to the fact that the Federal Republic of Germany had in fact become an immigration country over the past few years.

A Caritas representative said all "worker immigrants" who have been here for many years should be allowed to stay if they wish.

The recruitment ban must be maintained, then work could start on proper integration.

However, the question was asked as to what exactly social integration means. Bleicher demanded that the foreign workers be allowed to "have an equal say in their future".

In many cases, however, this is prevented by the aliens law, which among other things, limits the age of children who can join their parents in Germany.

President of the Church Council, Hild, reinforced the demand by the Evangelical Church for equal treatment before the law. "The legal system reflects our understanding of society and of human relations."

Of course, there are fears among the German population about unemployment and the economic situation.

Many German workers, particularly the less qualified, regard the foreigners as competitors and not colleagues.

Nevertheless, the *Institut der Deutschen Wirtschaft* in Cologne confirmed that even with an unemployment level of 2.5 million the German economy could not survive without its *gastarbeiter*, its guest workers.

The foreigners must not become the "scapegoats" for the present crisis.

Hild also spoke out against opinions that a foreign "infiltration" of German society is under way. On the contrary, contact with persons from another culture could be seen as an enrichment.

After all, many Germans spent lots of money each year to get to know other cultures.

This problem was a particular challenge for Christians and the Church.

For the Bible stated that God made all men in his likeness and that God is the "patron of strangers".

The Christian showed his true relationship to God in his relati[...] strangers.

Suffragan Bishop Dick fro[...] gue, who recently took over re[...] lity as spokesman for question[...] with foreigners during the B[...] Conference, underlined that hu[...] gnity leads to basic rights whic[...] be included (and restricted) in [...] and economic compromises.

The Church had the functio[...] ing as an advocate for these [...] function which is at present be[...] to the test by the Moslems.

The churches, therefore, we[...] cularly pleased that the age li[...] children who could join their pa[...] Germany had not, at least for th[...] being, been lowered.

The special parliamentary c[...] sioner for foreigners, Frau Li[...] Funcke, said that it was a good [...] that the demand by the Minister [...] Interior, Friedrich Zimmermann [...] "runs contrary to human righ[...] been "cleared out of the way".

However, Frau Funcke criti[...] general criticism of politicians, p[...] out that there are informed an[...] formed.

These politicians still had [...] with many demands, such as th[...] mand for equal legal treatment [...] of the move towards increased [...] tion.

The educational institutions [...] churches and unions will be s[...] up their efforts to remove rese[...] via information, contacts and "e[...] nal consternation".

(Frankfurter Allgeme[ine Zeitung] für Deutschland, 26 M[...])



AVIATION

Would you buy a used plane from this man?

DIE ZEIT

[R]einer Wilkens does not have an easy job: he sells second hand [air]craft. And at the moment there is a [glut] on the used aircraft market.

[H]is current task is to sell five of Luft[han]sa's old Airbuses, that is, the A300: [Yo]u'll never get a plane as cheap as [you] can now," he says with the opti[mis]m of the born salesman.

He is right. The going rate for a good [use]d Jumbo, the Boeing 747, is 20 mil[lion] American dollars, which compares [wit]h five times that for a new aircraft.

Or at a more modest level, a second [han]d Boeing 727 can be bought for [ab]out six million American dollars. [Tw]o years ago, the rate was 10 million [do]llars.

There are about 500 second hand [air]craft on the international market, 150 [of] which are jumbos.

But Wilkens, head of the procure[me]nt department at Lufthansa, will not [be] giving away his Airbuses: "We [wou]ld prefer to leave our aircraft lying [som]e somewhere rather than sell them at [du]mping prices," he says.

He's is no hurry. If he can't sell, he [will] mothball the lot in the dry desert [sta]te of Arizona until better days [arri]ve.

Lufthansa no longer needs the six-[ye]ar-old aircraft. They are going over to [th]e new, smaller A310 Airbus having [or]dered 25.

This is the third time that Reinhardt [Ab]raham, deputy board chairman and [res]ponsible for the company's engineer[ing] has carried out such a replacement [pro]gramme, backed by a well-feathered [inv]estment budget.

Six years ago, part of the 747 fleet [wa]s replaced by more up-to-date mo[de]ls; three years ago, the whole fleet of [tw]in-engined Boeing 737s was remov[ed]; now, it's the turn of the Airbus.

Wilkens has sold 57 aircraft on the [sec]ond hand market for a total of [U]S$350 million. This replacement poli[cy] means that, on average, Lufthansa [air]craft are 5.7 years old. It also means [tha]t more economical, aircraft can be [bou]ght.

The new Airbus, the A310 . . . 'like going from a family saloon to a Porsche.' (Photo: dpa)

Abraham always regarded the smaller A310, which can carry about 200 passengers, as the ideal aircraft for short- and medium-range flights.

Ten years ago, for example, he decided on the A310 even though Airbus Industrie saw the A300 (250 passengers) as the one with the best market prospects, and produced it first.

Nevertheless, it's been worth the wait.

Originally, the smaller Airbus was just to be a reduced version of the larger; however, a completely new aircraft has emerged.

Much of the credit must go to the Lufthansa engineers with their tough demands on efficiency.

This aircraft, which soaked-up DM2bn in development costs, sees in a new generation — as do the competing 757 and 767 models from Boeing.

Jean Filz from Lufthansa's engineering department, says: "We do not expect the great leap forwards such as happened during the sixties and seventies — introduction of jet propulsion for passenger aircraft and the introduction of supersonic aircraft.

"The new technologies will not be so apparent to the (passenger's) eye."

As long as the oil price was low and relatively unimportant in cost calculations, the mind and energies of aircraft engineers centred on increasing speed.

But as fuel prices began rising in 1970 aircraft design became intent on cutting down fuel consumption.

Today, one litre of kerosene costs seventy pfennigs and a Jumbo needs 120,000 litres for a North Atlantic flight.

Lufthansa has been able to cut down its fleet's fuel consumption by a third via technological tricks.

Kerosene still accounts for one fifth of total costs, but the new Airbus will help cut down the bill further.

Test flights have shown that the A310 uses between 16 and 20 per cent less kerosene than the A300, which will now be taken out of service.

To get this far, the engineers of the Airbus Industrie and the General Electric and Pratt & Whitney companies have had to really do their homework.

The aerodynamics experts of the British Aerospace company also deserve a word of praise.

If you take a really close look at the bends and waves of the new wings, you will be reminded of the abstract sculptures of the French sculptor Hans Arp.

The wings were bent into the complicated three-dimensional shape with the aid of a jet stream of thousands and thousands of small steel ball-bearings.

This "trans-sonic" wing, as the engineers have called it, which is a blend of engineering technology and aesthetic appearance, is lighter than the traditional wing and, apart from coming across less air resistance, it also provides greater upcurrent.

It's hardly surprising therefore that the wings are the most expensive part of the aircraft.

Jean Filz reckons that the trans-sonic wing will improve performance by 10 per cent.

There's still a lot of work to be done on other parts, particularly on the horizontal and vertical tail-units.

Changes here could improve performance by a further five to ten per cent. Success in these fields can be expected before the end of the century.

Engineers are also interested in finding out more about new materials — in particular, carbon-fibre enforces synthetic materials.

These could eventually replace aluminium, steel and titanium. Some materials will be tested on the new Airbus only on parts which are not absolutely vital.

This alone will again reduce weight by about 5 per cent. However, for reasons of safety it will take up until the end of the century before such materials will be employed to such an extent as to enable aircraft to become twenty to thirty per cent lighter and thus save considerably on fuel consumption.

Another kind of technological revolution: the number of black boxes with their electronic systems of increasing complexity has increased substantially during recent years.

Alongside the familiar mechanical instruments, the pilots will find the new Airbus equipped with display screens, constantly informing them of the flight situation.

Microcomputers control the functioning of all systems, register errors and disturbances and show what must be done to overcome the problem at hand.

The bulky manuals that pilots were used to can now — if all works according to plan — be left on the shelves.

Microcomputers will calculate wind speeds, weather conditions and flight weight, now a flight stretch can thus be saved.

However, engineers are still wary of leaving the actual flying of the aircraft

Continued on page 10



■ QUESTS

Looking for water under the barren wastes of the Sahara desert

Barren wastes, an endless sea of sand and rocks which confuse the senses. Temperatures of 50 degree centigrade. The camels find it difficult to keep moving. We've covered about 800 kilometres since leaving Murzuk oasis."

These were some of the impressions of German Africa researcher Gustav Nachtigal who in 1899 was the first European to reach the Tibesti mountains, the "roof of the Sahara."

This mountain range is a chain of extinct volcanoes, and towers 3,400 metres above its desert environment, a steep island of rock in the desert's sandy ocean.

Decades later, interest yet again centres on the forlorn ravines of the Tibesti.

In 1982 Uwe Georg, a Sahara researcher from Hamburg, described this area in his expedition report:

"Beneath the eroded rocks we gazed down upon a sight which cannot be compared to anything else on this earth. In the middle of this vast desert, where in many part it only rains a few times each century, we found ourselves staring at a deep blue sea churned up by the wind. The surf roared between the palms and the spray was carried into the desert."

The lake of Ouninanga Serir described here runs contrary to the usual picture of the waterless Sahara.

The desert waters, almost as large as Lake Plön, are seen to be one of the miracles of nature in this region.

Although at least six metres is taken off the water-level each year by natural evaporation (corresponding to about 180 million cubic metres volume) and despite the fact that there has been no rain here for eleven years, the water-level always returns to the same height.

Without support from the ground water, the lake in the north of Chad would evaporate and dry up completely within four years.

Lake Ouninanga Serir clearly proves that there are large reserves of water beneath the Sahara desert, particularly in the reservoir rock of the Tibesti mountains.

Geographer and also Sahara researcher Helmut Schiffers, from Cologne, feels that the term "sea of sand" could prove to be a misnomer.

"There are at least 26 lakes in the Sahara and large reserves of ground water. Scientists are now convinced that there are so many billions of cubic metres of water in this 'Bahr bela ma' (Arabic for 'Sea without water') that we shall soon be talking about the 'sea beneath the Sahara'."

The exploration to discover these water reserves is well under way.

Countries such as Egypt, Libya, Algeria and Morocco are busy propagating a "departure to the desert," the setting-up of new oases, settlement and industrial centres, huge farms and irrigation plants.

The problems in Egypt are particularly urgent, 97 per cent of this country consisting of desert.

The fertile area near the Nile valley and delta is suffering from over-population and is gradually being ecologically "drained."

The words spoken by the French geologist Raymond Furon still hold true: "Even in the era of uranium and oil, water remains the most valuable raw material in the Sahara."

Not only is it essential for the survival of humans and the irrigation of grain fields and vegetable plantations, the extraction of other raw materials such as ores, crude oil, natural gas and phosphates is impossible without large reserves of water.

With its almost nine million square kilometres, the Sahara accounts for just under a third of Africa's total surface area.

Eighty per cent of this desert has less than 50 millimetres of rain a year and 1.5 million square kilometres have virtually none at all.

In Europe, for example, annual rainfall is between 600 and 900 millimetres.

The Sahara is the world's largest dry area and it determines the face of a dozen states with a total population of one hundred million.

One of the most disturbing developments in recent years is the speed with which this desert is spreading in a southerly direction.

To take stock of the ground-water reserves in the eastern part of the Sahara is the objective behind a project by the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Society for the Promotion of Research), in which about 100 scientists from 20 West German institutes are taking part.

Headed by geologist Professor Eberhard Klitzsch from the Technical University in Berlin, the project concentrates on a desert area measuring 1,000 times 1,500 kilometres.

Its interest centres on the structure and the development of the Sahara. This includes research on climatic and ecological changes, geological structures and ground-water and raw material reserves.

Many fields of science are involved in the society's programme entitled "Geo-Scientific Problems of Arid Areas." It includes geologists, ecologists and mineralogist.

The research area finds itself bordering three countries: Egypt, Sudan and Libya.

German researchers expect to find extensive ground-water reserves, which could be used for the Egyptian oasis and settlement project in the "New Valley" region.

Compared to the earth's long history, the Sahara only recently turned into a desert. Only 5,000 years ago many parts of the present-day desert were grassland or savannah regions, and woods, lakes, rivers, moorland and bushland were its geographical characteristics.

During this damp period the rainfall levels in the East Sahara figured at about 300 millimetres — as much as the present-day figure for the North African Mediterranean coast.

The average temperatures were about five to seven degrees lower than today's. This picture of a "wet" Sahara has been backed up by geological, palaeontological and archaeological findings.

The rock paintings in the Sahara mountains provided the first signs. Here, there are pictures of big game, herds of cattle and hunting scenes, a veritable art gallery of the green Sahara during the New Stone Age.

Up to now, over 30,000 rock paintings have been discovered. The cover a period of 9,000 years, the development from the nomadic hunters to the shephards and farmers.

The water reserves expected in this area are the result of this damp period in history which lasted in varying degrees of intensity for about 40,000 years.

American scientists have been able to draw up a surprisingly accurate map of the underground water channels using satellite photos and radar.

Some of them were taken during last year's voyage by the Columbia space shuttle.

These instruments were able to make out river valleys, lakes and delta landscapes which are now buried beneath five metres of sand.

Some of the river valleys, 15 kilometres wide, once made their way through the desert. This was confirmed with the aid of radar echoes.

Rivers as large as the Nile once flowed from the central Sahara regions to the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

The precipitation during these earlier periods has been stored in the seven large basins in the Sahara.

The "missing sea of the desert" is made up of ground water and deep water in the pores of the su[...] rocks and stones.

Ground-water zones reach [...] depth of 4,000 metres. If luck[...] can hit the ground-water at be[...] and 100 metres.

The largest underground re[...] the East Sahara are in Libya, Eg[...] the Chad Basin (where there wa[...] inland sea with an area of [...] square kilometres: today this [...] reduced to 15,000 sq km).

The research by the Germ[...] has confirmed that the ground-[...] serves beneath the Sahara ar[...] than at first assumed.

However, before such resou[...] tapped, fundamental questio[...] have to be answered.

One of the most important [...] relates to the age of the water. [...] water from the Sahara's damp p[...]

Or are the water zones replen[...] flows of ground-water from th[...] surrounding the Sahara, for [...] the Atlas mountains, the Nile [...] the high mountains of the Sa[...] the wet parts of West Africa?

The Sahara states are hoping [...] new data will help them in the[...] to set up huge settlement and [...] projects and turn the desert in[...] land and grazing land.

According to estimates by [...] perts, the area of irrigated land [...] ria and Tunisia could be double[...]

An extensive irrigation syste[...] ready been set up in the Libya[...] oasis.

In the middle of the desert, g[...] lucerne are grown and sheep [...] imported from New Zealand [...] ing. The aim is to cultivate 30[...] 'ares of land.

During the initial euphoric [...] fact, the Libyan government wa[...] to settle 6 million people in th[...] Basin.

Another most ambitious proje[...] attempt to irrigate 200,000 hec[...] land in the Egyptian "New Valle[...] ject area.

However, the scientists who a[...] ing in the Sahara and have alrea[...] covered new reserves remain sce[...]

Many parts of the Sahara are [...] suffering the after-effects of th[...] exploitation of natural resources[...] cularly of water reserves.

Oil drilling, mining and oasi[...] ping have led to drops in the [...] water level of up to 30 metres in [...]

The vast amoung of energy and [...] nology needed to reach the dee[...] reserves also moderates any fli[...] fancy scientists may have.

In the scientific cost-benefit a[...] the experts may find that their [...] a green Sahara is too much of a [...] tive mirage.

Professor Klitzsch estimate[...] water reserves beneath the easte[...] gion of the Sahara at about 50,000 [...] kilometres (although this sounds [...] deal, the Nile transports this amo[...] water to the sea in two years).

Berlin geologists expect 300,000 [...] kilometres for the Sahara as a whole[...]

However, the high salt and m[...] content (over two per cent in [...] cases) and the depths of drilling [...] ed would make the "desert water" [...] usable to a limited extent.

What is more, the fact that a [...] deal of these reserves may be [...] water and as such cannot be reple[...] ed also seets a limit to high-[...] hopes.

Willy Lützenkirch[...]

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und [...] 1 April [...])

Continued from page 9

up to the computer (very often the case already with military aircraft).

As Filz points out: "The fully electronic passenger aircraft with its revolutionary cockpit will remain the dream of many ambitious engineers in the field of aviation."

"However, to maintain that a plane will only need half the present level of fuel in ten years time is a more realistic assumption."

The increased use of electronics is the first step towards turning the flight captain into a flight manager.

At the same time, however, it means that one job is on the way out: the flight engineer.

The cockpit of the future will only require two people to handle operations: the pilot and the co-pilot.

Cockpit, pilots and flight engineers union, is up in arms on this issue. It demands that the 'third man' be kept.

This organisation will have plenty of trouble over new developments in electronics, and it cannot share the fascination shown by the engineers at Airbus Industrie.

It has expressed its worried about faults and failures in the systems, even though each device has a threefold check and double check.

The 20 Lufthansa crews trained on the Airbus A300 are not so apprehensive.

As flight captain Walter Wollrab, the top A310 pilot, enthusiastically remarked: Changing from the A300 to the A310 is like moving out of a family saloon car into a Porsche".

Heinz Michaels

(Die Zeit, 1 April 1983)

LITERATURE

Writers in exile: flight from the Nazi regime

[Fi]fty years ago, many of the most prominent German writers were [forc]ed by circumstance to go into exile [...] America.

[Th]e attempts made by this literary [grou]p to escape the claws of the Nazi [regi]me form an independent period in [the] history of German literature.

Almost all of the important representa[tiv]es of German literature had been [...]"ex[pa]triated" during the Nazi period.

"[G]ermany is here, inside our literary [...]p." This motto written by Kantoro[wicz] formed the title to a manifesto [pub]lished on 1st May, 1933, in Paris.

"The émigré writer is expected to constantly remain aware of the fact [tha]t he is the representative of Germa[ny']s living and future intellectual [wo]rld."

[T]his was the opinion expressed by [ano]ther German writer, Kurt Kersten, [...]r years later.

Thomas Mann had a most concise [wa]y of describing the literary state of [aff]airs at the time:

"Where I am, you will find German [li]terature," he remarked before departing [for] the United States in 1939 (the Se[con]d World War had already started).

This self-appraisal by exiled German [wri]ters, the feeling that they were the [re]presentatives of the "true Germany, [wa]s to be found throughout the world.

However, the prophetic statement [ma]de by Carl von Ossietzky in the ["We]ltbühne" in 1932 looked like be[com]ing a tragic reality: "Oppositional [gro]ups which have left Germany will [soo]n find themselves addressing a hol[low] country . . ."

[T]he mass exodus of German writers [did] not begin immediately after Hitler's [ta]ke-over of power.

The cultural life which had establish[ed] itself in the Weimar Republic conti[nu]ed.

"As if nothing had happened," the [Ull]stein and S. Fischer publishing [gro]ups vied for manuscripts.

[T]he "Berliner Tageblatt" still went [on] publishing articles by Alfred Kerr, [Al]fred Polgar, Thomas Mann and Erich [Mü]hsam.

Leonhard Frank, Ernst Weiss, Lud[wig] Marcuse could still be seen in their [favo]urite meeting-places in Berlin.

[E]rwin Kisch, much hated by the [Naz]is, in fact returned to Berlin on 30th [Jan]uary, 1933 to write about Hitler's go[ver]nment.

[T]he new rulers in Germany were too [in]volved in other things in February [19]33.

They could not be bothered to waste [the]ir time preventing speeches and soi[rée]s given by writers.

Heinrich Mann, who finally decided [to f]lee the country after many requests [to] do so by friends and acquaintances [fo]r example, by the French ambassa[do]r), was allowed to travel freely and [leg]ally across the border.

Of course, a few precautionary mea[sur]es had to be taken, but Mann could [be] certain that "these energetic and de[ter]mined persons have better things do [...]."

As Oskar Maria Graf remarks in a [lo]ok back at this period, this "fanatic" [...] only expected "to last a few months."

"It was just regarded as an historical [ex]cursion; everyone waited for the storm to pass," said Alfred Döblin, who gave in to the requests of friends and left for Switzerland on 28th February, 1933.

Brecht, Becher, Ludwig Marcuse, Bruno Frank and Karl Wolfskehl also took their leave of Nazi Germany on the same day.

Convinced that the ghost haunting Germany would soon disappear, the majority of German writers decided to flee.

The *Reichstag* fire on 27th February triggered off this mass exodus.

This was the "d-day" which many had predicted without really believing it would ever come; the transition to a system of open fascist dictatorship.

During the weeks and months which followed, the list of exiles grew longer: Anna Seghers, Ernst Toller, Carl Zuckmayer, Arnold Zweig, Klaus Mann, Leonhard Frank, Hermann Kesten, Robert Neumann, Max Hermann-Neisse and many more.

Only a few of them were personally intimidated.

In all probability, "nothing much would have happened" to most of them if they had shown certain degree of conformity.

As Hans-Albert Walter, who has carried out special research on this subject, points out, fascism would have "even accepted Marxist writers if they had genuflected in the right places."

German writers left their native homeland on a huge scale and regarded this as an expression of their political and moral protest.

Hans Mayer refer to this period as a special case in the "tragic history of literature."

For writers in centuries gone by had only been exiled for a limited period and were allowed to return after each flight.

As Brecht laconically remarked, the Chinese lyricists and philosophers, for example, went into exile just like others "go to the academy."

Another great German 19th century writer, Heinrich Heine, maintained that "fleeing would be easy if we didn't have to drag our *Vaterland* around with us on the soles of our feet."

Thomas Mann took a different stance on the situation in exile:

"It is a strange experience," he commented in his diary during a period in which he gave a set of talks abroad, "to notice how your own country moves away from you when you are abroad, as if it will never return."

The German writers in exile wrote "with their faces towards Germany," however, no-one stood behind them.

"Why should foreigners be interested in us, if our own country isn't?," asks a German scholar in Bruno Frank's "exile" novel *Der Reisepass* (The Passport).

In his Californian exile, Heinrich Mann took stock of the situation;

In his book *Ein Zeitalter wird besichtigt* (Surmising an Era) he writes that "an era of state propaganda will leave

Continued on page 12

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger



Wolfgang Reinbacher as Ödön von Horvath and Andreas Weissert as Berthold Brecht in *Geschichten aus Hollywood.* (Photo: Lore Bermbach)

British black humour and German literary refugees

Peter Hampton's play *Geschichten aus Hollywood* (Stories from Hollywood), which had its European premiere performance in Düsseldorf, is more than just another effort to re-appraise German history.

The subject-matter deals with the German intellectuals living in exile in America between 1938 and 1950.

However, the play, directed by Peter Palitzsch, is not merely a (British) reminder of the 50th anniversary of Hitler's take-over in 1933.

Many of the *Geschichten* have a documentary character, others are pure fiction.

The author has successfully managed to blend both elements into an infectious and rousing "theatre within the theatre," full of British black humour.

Nobel prize winner Thomas Mann is seen earning his daily bread by giving talks throughout the USA, a man who can only follow his own (aesthetic) instinct and prefers to continue his work on *Lotte in Weimar* rather than become involved in decidedly political activities.

His brother, Heinrich Mann's reputation depended "on the legs of Marlene Dietrich" (The Blue Angel).

Bert Brecht and Ödön von Horvath are forced to write idiotic film scripts to survive.

Heinrich Mann's wife Nelly is seen despairing in her isolation (a brilliant performance by Marianne Hoika) and finally commits suicide.

Just a few of the scenes in Hampton's play.

Realities and "theatrical licence" diverge when the audience sees Brecht (Andreas Weissert), Thomas (Wolfgang Arps) and Heinrich Mann (Hans Schulze) meet again and again in Hollywood bars, film studios and during private parties.

In reality, the fundamental differences in their literary and philosophical attitudes meant that they didn't have all that much to say to one another and very rarely met.

Ödön von Horvath (Wolfgang Reinbacher), who keeps the play going as a mixture of maitre de plaisir, presenter and analyser, may well have found the grotesque world of Hollywood quite amusing, had he not in fact died in Paris in 1938 and not as in Hampton's play in a Californian swimming pool in 1950.

Hampton's characters really only have one thing in common: in foreign parts, robbed of their native roots, they have lost their language in two ways: they can no longer articulate what they wish to say and they no longer gain attention.

The motives for leaving Germany in the first place and the ideological differences were too great to have allowed the emergence of a united intellectual front against the Hitler regime. Each character was a "longer" in his own right.

There was no such thing as an homogenous group of émigrés and — as the play clearly underlines — this will never be the case, no matter what the political situation may be.

Hampton also tries to take his vicious revenge on the American mentality which was the reason for the personal failures of many European intellectuals during the Nazi period.

Shortly before the war finished, for example, Horvath's girl-friend (Biggi Fischer) says: "Soon, we'll be able to go swimming again."

"Not me," says Horvath, "This sea of madness is too big for me, I need a human dimension."

And in a dispute between Horvath and Brecht, Brecht remarks: "This is no country for metaphysics, this is the house of the dead."

The Hollywood of this period turns into a synonym for disinterest, superficiality, a cinemascope world void of reality, full of money and glamour.

In such a world, the warnings and urgent pleas of émigrés are just as popular as the scratches and grooves on the film's celluloid.

The stage set for Hampton's play is mobile and bluntly lays bare the American metropolis of entertainment.

Palitzsch splits the plot up into minute, relaxed and interestingly improvised mini-scenes (and allows the ensemble to develop its own pleasure in playing their respective parts).

There is a constant change in the style of production, and Bert Brecht is "quoted" more than once.

For example, when the lights unexpectedly go on in the theatre — because (according to Brecht) the audience must never forget that it is sitting in the theatre.

Wolfgang Platzeck

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 28 March 1983)

■ MODERN LIVING

Illiterate: if you can't read this, then that's what you are

Otto works as a dispatcher for a drug company in Berlin. He has to ensure that cartons of drugs go off properly to the various city hospitals. What worries him most is that somebody will discover his problem: Otto is illiterate.

This is a problem he shares in varying degrees with an estimated three million others in West Berlin and West Germany.

They are the people who tell bank tellers or post office clerks that they left their glasses at home or put the right arm in a sling before dealing with the authorities so that they can ask to have the forms filled in for them.

EEC Commission estimates that there are between 10 and 15 million illiterates and semi-illiterates in the Community.

Statistics say nothing about whether this number includes people who can only just write "Love, Erna" on a postcard or whether it includes those who can read but not write.

Literacy drives for adults have been in existence in the Federal Republic since 1980. Mostly they are uncoordinated, working alone. Frequently, the drives are organised by the *Volkshochschule* (a nation-wide adult education organisation), vocational schools and prisons.

Otto, who is in his mid-20s, attends weekly classes held by a private organisation, *Arbeitskreis Orientierungs- und Bildungshilfe* (AOB) (work group for orientation and education assistance), in Berlin's Kreuzberg district.

The classes are on the fourth floor of a dilapidated old factory. There are six classrooms in which 26 part-time teachers try to teach 122 illiterates the basics of reading and writing — something regular elementary school was unable to teach them for one reason or another.

The teachers use only the morpheme method (MM) in which words are broken down into their smallest meaningful components that are learned like the alphabet. Only 300 morphemes instead of 4,000 words are needed to be able to read and write 80 per cent of an average text.

Monika, 20, is an exemplary student. She is married with one child and has a job as a cleaning woman in an office building.

Her employer has now offered to promote her, but if she accepted she would have to be able to file simple reports.

Peter, 27, who works for the council, has the same problem. Like his brother, he had a speech impediment as a child. But since his parents could only afford to send one child to a special school, Peter had to go to a normal school.

He learned nothing and remained illiterate. Now, he could get a good job with the trade union; but they do not like the way he mis-spells.

After a few weeks of instruction, the teachers in the Kreuzberg factory become more than just teachers. They turn into friends and helpers. Frequently, they have to take a firm stand when somebody wants to pry his girlfriend out of this "idiotic course" because she would be much more use to him working than battling with the alphabet.

The teachers have published a proper printed booklet entitled "Shopping and What I Have to Know about It. Consumer Education for Adult Illiterates" by Helga Rübsamen and Regina Finke.

Shopping can be a disastrous experience for illiterates — especially when the shelves of a supermarket have been reorganised and familiar items are no longer where they should be. When that hapens it is no rarity for somebody to pick up shoe polish in a tube instead of toothpaste.

Newcomers to the courses are encouraged to relate such experiences. In fact, they may talk about everything that moves or troubles them.

The realisation in class that there are others with the same problem gives a sense of security.

The actual teaching is preceded by a preliminary three-month course in which classes of about 15 meet once a week. The aim here is to overcome the feeling of isolation and failure.

This is followed by very small actual two-hour evening classes twice a week to be attended for two to three years.

Some of the pupils come by car because illiterates have been able to hold driving licences ever since a court ruled that traffic signs are mere symbols and that signposts giving names of places have no legal relevance in terms of traffic law.

One of the problems with adult literacy education stems from the fact that some local authorities want the pupils to attend a *Volkshochschule* course in the last months of their literacy education.

These courses are wide[ly] popular, but those who attend [fre]quently complain that the de[mands are] as stringent as in a regular s[chool, so] that they feel overtaxed.

And indeed, it was this ve[ry] school in the conventional s[ense that] turned many illiterates into s[...] are.

Another problem is the fin[ancing of] literacy courses. The first of th[e clas]ses held in Kassel were finan[ced from] the *Volkshochschule* budget, [the] Berlin drive is now financed [by the] white collar workers union and [the Kul]*turzentrum Schlachthof* (aband[oned ...] ral centre). The Protestant Ch[urch has] said it would examine wheth[er to] join the backers.

The AOB in Kreuzberg gets its money through Section 39 o[f the Fe]deral Social Welfare Act. But [the] qualification criteria are s[uch that] each case is a problem case b[...] spect.

Section 39 governs welfare [and] the "therapy of people thro[ugh] disability."

Even if the AOB continued [to turn] down applicants to maintain [the pre]sent number of participants [in clas]ses (most of them make small [contribu]tions out of their own pockets) [it would] still need DM500,000 a year - [no mat]ter how thrifty the operation.

But at present the AOB [gets] more than half this amount [and there] are virtually no donations.

Schooling for illiterates w[as spear]headed by the *Volkshoch[schulen in]* Bremen, Frankfurt and Munich.

In Frankfurt, the Social Wel[fare Offi]ce pays for individual instr[uction by] private teachers provided by [...] schools.

"But the learning process [for illi]teracy in the Federal Repub[lic of Ger]many is also a case of d[...] ignoring an existing problem. [The ques]tion is, how long will it tak[e before] public consciousness becomes [aware of] a social problem that is more th[an a] curious and peripheral phen[omenon,]" wrote the magazine *Betrifft E[rziehung]* as far back as 1981.

It is questionable whether [...] ing and further education are [able] to fight illiteracy because "it [is worth] giving some thought to the f[act that] adult illiterates are not only m[aking up] for what school was unable t[o give] them but that school itself has [...] produced this sort of deficienc[y de]spite the range of instruction off[ered."]

Otto, who can only guess the [addres]ses stencilled on the crates of [his] dispatches, would certainly have [a word] or two to say on the subject.

Eberhard N[...]

(Die Welt, 28 M[...])

Writers in exile

Continued from page 11

literature powerless." "It will always be exiled, whether abroad or at home."

Hans-Albert Walter is undoubtedly right when, at the start of his 6-volume presentation of German literature in exile (not yet completed, J. B. Metzler Verlag, Stuttgart) he explains "that the political and social developments which led to emigration from Germany had set in before 1933, and . . . that the impact of this period will be felt long after 1949/1950."

Numerous statements by the writers in question confirm this.

And what was the situation in 1945?

"Our emigration has just beg[un now] that the war is over," says Osk[ar Maria] Graf.

The boom period for the w[orks of] German authors in exile during [...] cannot hide this fact.

This sudden interest began d[uring the] sixties (after 20 years of indi[fference)] and brought to light a vast a[mount of] scientific treaties and literatur[e written] during the war period.

"Our best client is posterity['s] conscience," Hans Sohl wrote i[n New] York, forty years after emigra[ting from] his native Germany.

Manfred [...]

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 31 M[...])

■ MEDICINE

Far from piddling results in hormone research

[N]obel Prize winner Adolf Butenandt, who began a huge trade in [urin]e, has turned 80.

[I]t was in the waning 1920s that this [cur]ious trade was set in motion in Ber[lin]. Prompted by Butenandt, the phar[ma]ceuticals firm Schering sent out [buy]ers to contact stud farms throughout [Eu]rope and buy the urine produced by [pr]egnant mares.

[T]ransported in milk churns painted [gre]en to prevent confusion, some [...]0,000 litres of horse urine flowed into [Ber]lin every year.

The chain of churns ended in Adler[sh]of, a Berlin suburb, in a 20,000-litre [wo]oden vat.

Using steam heat, the liquid that had [me]anwhile started to decompose was [th]ickened by evaporating its water con[te]nt — a process that produced an un[pr]ecedented stench. In fact, Butenandt [an]d his colleagues were always assured [o]f a seat on the city's public transport [si]nce everybody gave them a wide [b]erth.

What Butenandt, who was 24 at the [ti]me, wanted to achieve with this mam[m]oth and malodorous operation was to [is]olate hormones.

Delving into hormones was seen as a [so]rt of scientific roulette at the time. [Bu]t Butenandt and his assistant, Erika [v]on Ziegner, risked the game — and [w]on.

The thickened urine concentrate was [pr]ocessed further to the point where, [af]ter two years of tedious work, it yield[ed] a minute quantity of tiny crystals: es[tr]one, the basis of all estrogens, the fe[m]ale sex hormones.

Ten years later, Butenandt was [a]warded a half share of the Nobel prize [f]or Chemistry. But political circumstan[ce]s at the time prevented him from col[le]cting the money that went with the [p]rize.

"Money, didn't really matter," says [th]e octagenarian today. And indeed, at [th]at time — some 50 years ago — he [w]as beset by problems that money [c]ould not have solved. The question [th]at occupied him was whether the [cr]ystals he had distilled after all his [w]ork were really the sought-after hor[m]one.

The final proof was provided by the [fe]male rats and mice in his institute's [ba]sement: When injected with minute [qu]antities of the concentrate, the ro[de]nts' mating cycle was set in motion, [pr]oviding indisputable proof that the [cr]ystals in the test tubes were female [h]ormones.

It took another two years before Bu[te]nandt came up with yet another suc[ce]ss in the hormone field.

Using 15,000 litres of urine from [h]uman males, he managed to produced [th]e male hormone andristerone in pure [f]orm.

Though nobody at that time thought [o]f such a lucrative and important use of [h]ormones as in the case of the Pill, Bu[te]nandt's research career was neverth[ele]ss ensured and he had meanwhile [m]arried his assistant, Erika von Zieg[n]er.

Even when the hormone boom got [of]f the ground after World War II, Bu[te]nandt made no money out of it. Though he had a stake in the Schering [p]atents based on his discovery, these were confiscated by the Allies at a time when the boom was about to set in.

In 1944, Butenandt's Berlin institute was moved to Tübingen; and in 1948, when he turned down an appointment at Basel University, the Tübingen students were so overjoyed as to honour him with a torchlight parade.

Even so, in 1953 he left Tübingen to go to Munich where he was offered excellent research facilities.

He was later appointed head of the Institute for Physiological Chemistry at Munich's Medical School and also became head of the Max Planck Institute for Biochemistry.

He retained his laboratory facilities after retirement in 1972.

After his discovery of hormones, Butenandt caused two more international sensation: In 1959 he succeeded in producing the sex lure of a butterfly, a so-called pheromone that, through the sense of smell, brings males miles. The discovery was later to play an important practical role in agriculture as an insecticide.

In 1960 he became the focal point of the public discussion over university reform in this country.

He had meanwhile succeeded Otto Hahn as the president of the Max Planck Society for the Promotion of Science.

In 1967 he warned of a stagnation of research due to shortage of funds.

The dramatic developments at Germany's universities irked the devoted scientist to the point where — in 1969 — he called for better basic research to stem the brain drain.

A heated dispute with various scientific organisations ensued and led to demands for his resignation on the grounds of opposing reforms.

Butenandt refused to resign and, by changing the election procedures for the Max Planck Society Executive Board, he managed to save the Society from those who were bent on destroying it.

In 1972, he was instrumental in changing the Society's statutes and thus giving younger researchers more say.

In 1978 he said it was most deplorable that the universities permitted themselves to "have the new universities law foisted on them."

As he sees it, the old type of German university with its scientific achievements is gone forever.

Butenandt, who has always been essentially a basic researcher, has nevertheless also appreciated the practical significance of applied research.

He says that progress in basic research must eventually lead to the results' practical application — frequently in the most unexpected way.

Adolf Butenandt . . . always a basic researcher. (Photo: dpa)

This thesis can also be reversed: Neglecting basic research must inevitably lead to a deficit of ideas and this, in turn, must have a disastrous effect on the competitiveness of the nation. This is exactly what was happening today.

Adolf Butenandt has never stopped demanding of students, scientists and universities what he himself has always been prepared to give: performance, singlemindedness of purpose and quality.

Klaus Bruns

(Die Welt, 23 March 1983)

Pioneer in the field of psychosomatics

The writer, Dr Jürgen-Peter Stössel, has written a book on psychosomatic medicine called *Das Menschenmögliche*, to be published this year by Fischer Verlag.

Thure von Uexküll has turned 75. I first met him at the 4th Workshop of the German College for Psychosomatics in Ulm.

This meeting of the college which he founded in 1974 and whose manager he was until 1981 also marked Uexküll's last participation in a scientific event at Ulm University.

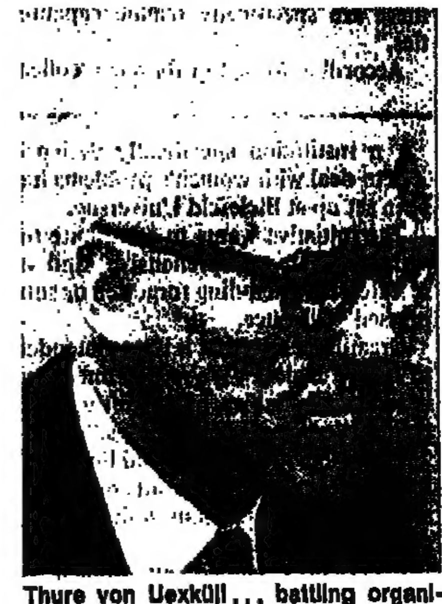
The college's basic concept, which he helped draft and ably represent while a professor of internal medicine and psychosomatics at Ulm University from 1967 to 1976, has long been regarded as exemplary in the field of medical training.

Among the salient features of the concept were lecturing at the sickbed and the inclusion of psychological and social subjects in the medical curriculum. This is now required as part of the qualification procedure for doctors that came into force in 1973.

We talked about this when I recently saw him at his Freiburg retirement home. He was instrumental in the introduction of psychosomatic wards at Ulm's University Hospital.

"But since these wards are staffed primarily by psychoanalysts they are not really entitled to bear this description. The wards are essentially psychoanalytical training and research institutes or neurosis clinics. Important though all this might be, for basic research, these wards tend to be isolated from normal clinical work, thus forfeiting the chance provided in Ulm by the establishment of a new scientific-medical academy," he told me.

Initially, there was some experimenting with a departmental system in the field of internal medicine. Though this promotes specialisation, it also calls for cooperation among specialists as part of the daily routine to prevent the individual from losing his overview.



Thure von Uexküll . . . battling organisational problems. (Photo: Süddeutscher Verlag)

This new organisational structure raised the standard of specialised research and care for the patients above normal levels; but it did not change the fundamentals of medical work. The doctors still continued to treat the sickness rather than the sick person.

Thure von Uexküll presented a new model for the realisation of a further objective of the reformed university: By institutionalising psychosomatics as part of internal medicine, the physical aspects were not to receive less and the psychological more attention; they were to be integrated as part of the general care for the patient.

The feasibility of this approach was demonstrated in a pilot project in an internal medicine ward at Ulm University Hospital.

The project, headed by Karl Köhle from 1972 to 1979, enjoyed Uexküll's able guidance.

In his eulogy marking Uexküll's 68th birthday in 1976, Köhle paid tribute to his teacher for his attempts "to convince with businesslike arguments in the dispute over university policy. His way of promoting psychosomatic medicine in everyday clinical life is in keeping with the patient's confidence that doctors will not ignore substantiated scientific findings in the long run, thus benefiting the people under their care."

Looking back on his work, Uexküll told me: "We underestimated the opposition and did not provide the necessary contractual safeguards for our reform experiment in a hostile environment."

The difficulties of psychosomatic medicine are not so much due to shortcomings in research (there is ample convincing evidence of the importance of psychological factors in ailments and their therapies); they are primarily due to organisational problems.

But appearances can be deceptive. The internal medicine ward of the District Hospital in Tegernsee, headed by Peter Bayerl since 1978, proves that top-notch physical care for the patient can go hand-in-hand with psychosomatic care — and not only at university hospitals.

Since the German College for Psychosomatics promotes such efforts, Thure von Uexküll suggested that a committee of experts evaluate the work at the Tegernsee Hospital — especially in view of the fact that Bayerl had been given notice without mentioning a reason.

In mid-February, Uexküll wrote to the district commissioner, Wolfgang Gröbl, sending him the committee's report to the effect that the discontinuation of the Tegernsee project would cause an irreplaceable loss and recommending that Dr Bayerl's contract be extended.

Jürgen-Peter Stössel

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 March 1983)



A special Bundestag commission has investigated the role of women journalists working for radio and television.

The analysis underlined the importance of showing the public how women journalists work, what their working conditions are like in an effort to do help more women enter journalism.

Although 52 per cent of the population are female, only 33 per cent of those entering journalism are women.

Only 17 per cent of the editors in print media and radio are women; five per cent of the editors-in-chief are; and no single daily newspaper has a woman in the top editorial position.

98.5 per cent of the commentators and foreign correspondents working for the ARD broadcasting channel are men. Even women's magazines such as the popular *Brigitte* are run by men.

Many woman fall by the wayside in the struggle to get to the top.

In a study conducted by Irene Neverla, Gerda Kanzleiter and a number of other women from the University of Munich an effort is made to discover why.

The study deals with the situation of female jounalists and is to be published soon.

You don't need to study or undergo any special kind of training to get into journalism.

This is a factor of uncertainty for many women, many of them just slipped to the job as it were.

Many mothers of women journalists have a university education and the fathers of many were self-employed. This is less the case with male journalists.

Many women get into journalism via free-lance activities, this being the only way to combine their job and their private life — which usually means their family.

This is a particularly difficult task in this job as journalists are often required to work in the evening and must as it were be constantly available.

This would suggest why only 25 per cent of the women journalists have children compared with 57 per cent for their male colleagues; 30 per cent of female journalists live alone. These are statistics from a *Westdeutscher Rundfunk* (WDR) survey.

Forty two per cent of the women, as opposed to 72 per cent of men, state that they find it easy to combine their work and their family life.

Those women who manage to get a foot inside the journalistic door often get no further than the low-prestige departments, and are very rarely serious candidates for editors-in-chief.

The Neverla/Kanzleiter study reveals these employment statistics for the broadcasting channels ARD (excluding SR and SFB), ZDF and RIAS: female journalists for politics, economics, sport and current affairs, 9 per cent (TV, 8 per cent); for culture, education and social affairs, 26 per cent (TV, 11 per cent); for light entertainment and music, 13 per cent (TV, 16 per cent).

The daily newspaper on which research was carried out didn't have one female political journalist and, of the total of 18 women journalists, eight worked for the local and regional section.

Here, they are responsible for the traditional women's subjects, such as health, consumer questions, social issues, the church, culture and of course fashion.

Many had not chosen these fields themselves but had virtually been put their by their male colleagues.

One participant at a "Women in the

■ SOCIETY

Why women journalists find it hard to make the grade

Media" seminar in Hagen characterised her male colleagues and the "mutual cooperation" as follows: "Getting the come-on, vanity, showing-off, jokes, alcohol, playing Skat (a popular German card game), broken-down relationships."

The study confirmed the male will to reach the top and the fear of success on the part of the women.

It would seem as if all the men are just waiting in their starting holes and raring to go.

Neverla/Kanzleiter and the other members of the research team gained the impression that men accept the price of success without thinking.

It was not clear whether women actually rejected such a career outright because success was to difficult or whether they are not willing to adjust and run the risk of being corrupted by success.

Of the 98 male and female journalists covered by the study, 75 per cent of the men and only 40 per cent of the women claimed to be interested in assuming top management functions.

"Women do not feel at ease in privileged positions."

Some of the participants at the Hagen conference then revealed a typical reaction: they regarded it as important for women to take on top jobs, but they did not like the idea of doing so themselves.

According to the Neverla/Kanzleiter report, if women want to be successful they have to overcome their subjective fears and also cast aside the "clearly biologically influenced prejudice that there are specifically female capabilities."

According to one of the male colleagues interviewed, for example, women are "more subject to fluctuations in their abilities than men, that's quite understandable, obvious."

Others feel that women are "unobjective," "simply more sensitive," "don't get so involved in certain editorial tasks" and do not "have as much staying power" as men.

This is particularly the case when women are asked to "sacrifice their time."

One TV director commented: "A woman just isn't really suited for this TV business — you can quote me word-for-word here. A woman is just too involved in her own affairs. She is hardly able to form the editorial circles and teams needed. She wants to do everything herself."

The interviewer drew these conclusion from these opinions:

"If women had the qualifications and capabilities then they would be able to get in to top positions.

"Such a formulation implies that women can usually be expected not to have such qualifications, whereas the latter are almost automatically expected for men."

If it really is so difficult for women in general to climb up the career ladder in this profession, you would expect the female "loners" to club together and try for greater success.

However, this is where we come across another difficulty: the relationship between the female journalists is not always marked by solidarity. Competition is fast to gain the upper hand.

Many of the participants at the seminar told tales of intrigue, gossip, "male" behaviour, arrogance, envy and mistrust alongside the many positive ex... ces.

To really remain a woman... support the women's movemen... mething many female journal... most difficult.

In the Neverla/Kanzleiter st... male journalists were asked to... their opinions on the women's... ment.

Most said that is was a goo... but that anti-male excesses and... dical way in which demands we... are much too exaggerated. It's... forcing men on to the defensive.

Although the women perceived... selves to be emotionally strong... men, they would appear to also... the responsibility for men withi... mework of "social partnership."

This dissociation from the w... movement would indicate a mi... ment of the women's moveme... purely political movement.

Despite many cases of unse... experiences made with other... journalists, the participants at the... nar agreed that more women sho... come involved in journalism.

"People (men) have got to re... lising that we exist, so that the d... ce between official policies and... of everyday life can no longer b... ed".

It's about time that "subj... dealt with from a woman's p... view." But the chances of succ... however, pretty poor.

The percentage share of fema... nalists represented in three br... ing stations of differing sizes did... crease between 1949 and 1979.

Although the number of jobs... male journalists increased, the... not a corresponding increase in t... centage share of women.

Any cut-backs in this field, k... hit the women first.

Bärbel D...

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 M...

A n institution specifically designed to deal with women's problems has been set up at Bielefeld University.

The Female is under closer scrutiny

The initiative wants to contribute towards a more comprehensive kind of research by "including forgotten or suppressed" evidence.

Organisers says that it is not intended to ignore males: "We're not interested in turning the tables, but a shift towards the female way of seeing things."

The whole idea of a special line of research grew out of the results of various seminars held in various university faculties over the years.

Experiences gained by women in women's movements or while studying or teaching at university began to be combined: the women came to regard themselves as researchers into the subject of women in society.

Then an attempt to make sure that this research became an integral part of studies at the university was made.

The women made their point to the chancellor of the university and, in turbulent sittings of the university senate on 9 June, 1982, and 7 July, 1982, an "Interdisciplinary Research Group for Research on the Situation of the Woman in Society" was set up, to begin with for four years.

The female scientists will, during the next three years, be conducting three special projects on the following subjects: "Sex-specific division of labour and gainful employment by women," "Women's education" and "Women and the Third World."

The Bielefeld initiative works in close cooperation with other women's initiative groups, both on a national and international level.

It advises those seeking information, helps prepare seminars, put together material for theses and provides job contacts.

Following these first three years, there will be an assessment of the progress made and the decision on the future of the university group will be taken.

Such research on the situation of women finds its origins in the political context of the New Women's Movement and has become particularly accepted in the USA and in Britain.

Content, therefore, is linked to the change in the female awareness of her situation in society and the changes in the status of women in everyday life.

The demand for research dealing with the problems facing women dates back to the 18th century.

However, it took until the second half of the 19th century, a period in which women began organising themselves in various associations, before these demands emerged in the shape of a... cal force.

The universities were gradual... ed to abandon their anti-female... des. Those women who began st... and later actually teaching in the... sities found themselves confront... rigid scientific concepts and do... male behaviour.

They realised how strongly th... thods and content of learning, th... and research were oriented by... patriarchal structures of thinking... perception.

The usually subordinate positio... located to women in the aca... world and their extreme under... sentation in research prevented... emergence of a new self-awarene... women of a possible specific fe... role as female scientists.

Admission of women to unive... and educational facilities wa... enough to guarantee emancipation.

The actual approach to scienti... search had to be changed in order... able to find answers to the que... which have arisen from the wo... movement.

This already led during the fir... decades of this century to activi... women in universities designed to... women reflect upon the oppress... which they are subjected.

Topics began to be discussed w... had up to that time either been ig... or dealt with in a distorted way.

(Allgemeine Zeitung Mainz, 26 March...)

■ THE LAW

Lock your doors folks, here comes the Dortmund police force

...olice in Dortmund have developed ...an unenviable reputation for cor...tion. Policemen at all levels have ...involved in crime.

...se one: The radio at police head...ters crackled: "We've arrived at the ...e of the burglary. Send a van."

...he squad at the burgled Dortmund ...ronics shop was too late to catch ...burglars who fled, leaving the stolen ...ds — radios, stereo sets, video re...ders and TV sets — on the loading ...p.

...hen the extra men arrived in the ... they were told to push off again ...leave the van because the police... on the scene would like to watch ...for any burglars who might have ...ed behind.

...nce rid of their colleagues, they ...ded the van with the haul and took it ...safe place: home.

...ase two: A handful of off-duty ...tmund policemen in plain clothes ...ved into a house occupied by squat... and started beating up everybody. ...men were pulled by their hair, men ...hed down the stairs and a visiting ...or injured to the point where he ...incapacitated for weeks.

...he crews of several patrol cars call... by the neighbours lingered for a ...le and then drove off again.

Case three: A Dortmund citizen ...nted to get rid of two tramps sleep...g off in a nearly completed building ...dousing them with a bucket of cold ...er. But the three policemen who ...ved on the scene had a better idea.

"We'll take care of it," said one of ...m. He drew his chemical mace and ... the two tramps straight in the face. A doctor later diagnosed eye and face ...ries.

Occurrences like these have blacken... the image of the Dortmund police to ...point where businessmen now make ... of policemen, telling them that ...are not prepared to take video sets ...t payment for goods sold.

...a recent court case involving a rob... in a jewellery shop, the defending ...yer in all seriousness suggested that ...missing items be looked for in poli...omes.

...he public's wariness of seeking poli...rotection is justified by the growing ...ber of police officers answering ...ges in court. And — a novelty in ...many — the officers in the dock get ...enced.

...he policemen involved in the chemi...mace incident, those who raided the ...e occupied by squatters and those ... helped themselves to the electro... all received suspended prison sen...es of several months because the ...es felt that a mere fine was not ...ugh.

...eople in the western districts of the ... have for years been warning each ...r to keep an eye on their posses...s after a burglary even if policemen ...s on hand to guard the goods.

...ut it was not until last year when the ...lic prosecutor's office obtained ...ch warrants for police homes that ...public realised the extent to which ...ears were justified.

...he searchers came up with stolen ...ing outfits, cassettes, bird cages, ...struction material, electrical ap...nces and alcohol.

Frankfurter Rundschau

Who would have thought that the burglars whom neighbours had observed in a shop would get no more than a friendly greeting from the summoned patrol car crew and be left alone to get on with the job?

The men in the patrol car realised that the burglars were colleagues of theirs and once they were told that "everything's under control," they returned to headquarters.

The burglars continued to clean up in peace, secure in the knowledge that they belonged to what one prosecutor called a "cohesive and corrupt group."

There must have been many situations since 1977 when the police formed a special squad to fight street crime in Dortmund's west.

Policemen are said to have stood guard with their weapons drawn to enable their criminal friends to burgle in peace — naturally expecting part of the loot as protection money.

Only once the burglars were away and safe did police work take its normal bureaucratic course, clues having been carefully removed by experts.

Forty one officers have come under suspicion since last November. The investigation of 20 of them has been discontinued. The rest are likely to be charged soon.

Eleven have come under particularly serious suspicion. They are alleged to have committed many thefts in the course of duty over the past five years.

Six are now in custody pending trial and five arrest warrants have been suspended on stringent conditions.

The trial of the first two of these police officers — who were charged with grand larceny — shows how much theft is taken for granted in the force.

After a burglary in a supermarket, the first thing the two officers who were called in to investigate did was to help themselves — one to a bottle of Greek brandy and the other to a bottle of Vodka.

Asked what made them do it, one of the policemen answered: "It's customary."

They hid the stolen bottles under their jackets because "it wouldn't look so good to be seen running around with a bottle in hand."

One of the co-defendents, argued that they would have been given a bottle of alcohol anyway because that was the custom. So what was wrong with helping themselves?

The judges saw it differently and gave each of the accused an eight-month suspended sentence and a fine of DM2,000.

North Rhine-Westphalia's Interior Minister, Herbert Schnoor (SPD), said in a TV interview that "we must accept the fact that the change of values in our society as a whole, as with regard to property, has not passed by the police force." In an aside, he added: "What we need is a police force capable of acting on its own initiative."

He has exactly that — especially in Dortmund — though of course not the way he meant it. There can be no denying that Dortmund police officers showed initiative when, in their free time, drunk and without orders, they proceeded against the squatters in case two.

There was a whole group of them but only two had the misfortune of having been on so many official raids against squatters and demonstrators as to be instantly identified and subsequently charged: senior police officer Dietmar Weist, in charge of the central precinct, and Commissar Michael Murawski, deputy head of a task force.

They were given four-month suspended sentences. The judge accepted as a mitigating circumstance that they had had frequent brushes with squatters and used their raid to rid themselves of their frustrations.

The press officer at police headquarters now routinely lists the many disciplinary proceedings against the black sheep in the force. There are 17 formal disciplinary proceedings in progress against alleged police thieves and fences.

Some have had their salaries cut to up to 40 per cent, and the three police officers who used their chemical mace on the tramps have been suspended from duty pending the appeal of their court sentences.

One officer who, last December, came under suspicion of pimping and is now being tried has been suspended from duty on full pay.

Only officers Weist and Murawski are still on full duty. Weist lost his position has head of the central precinct. But Murawski is still deputy head of his task force because it appears that Police President Wolfgang Manner cannot manage without him.

Only ten days after the attack on the squatters and long before the wounds of the injured had healed, Murawski was put in charge of security for a major soccer game.

Commented Manner in the local press: "There's nobody else of his calibre."

Ingrid Müller-Münch

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 March 1983)

Moscow and missiles

Continued from page 2

would seem inevitable in such an eventuality, the Soviets will be disappointed, just as they were with the outcome of the West German elections in March.

It would hardly be surprising if they are banking on a Democrat victory during the US elections in 1984.

Yet again, they may have to hide their disappointment. And, in the final analysis, if they take their own military arguments seriously they must soon answer the question whether they would prefer 54 or 27 or no Pershings to 108 — and if so, how many SS-20s they would be willing to "sacrifice" to reach such an agreement.

In this sense, the argument that the closer the date of deployment gets, the greater the willingness of the Soviets to compromise will become is indeed correct.

This compromise, however, must be achieved soon after the Geneva talks reconvene at the end of May.

This pressupposes that the Western concepts have taken clear shape by then and that negotiations keep moving between spring and late autumn.

It will be virtually impossible to obtain concessions from the Russians if the Pershings are already part of the landscape.

This would trigger off the "hour of the counter measures" — the crisis hour, which nobody dare desire.

Theo Sommer

(Die Zeit, 8 April 1983)

Shooting deaths: should officers be armed?

A 14-year-old boy was recently shot dead by police after he had forced his way at night into a youth centre in Gauting, Bavaria.

The incident was so grotesque that it is impossible to give the police the benefit of the doubt.

There was nothing that could even remotely have resembled a self-defence reaction.

Even if the boy had been a real criminal, he was in an enclosed space. All the police had to do was to wait for him to come out again or summon help.

And even if the boy had been hailed by the police (why wasn't he?) and had not responded, there was no reason to shoot.

And if he had started to cause trouble inside the building, there would still have been no reason to shoot.

The shooting had to be done through a window, making it impossible to aim to incapacitate rather than kill.

There have been more such macabre examples of unwarranted use of police weapons.

In Hamburg, an 18-year-old youth who could at most have been suspected of being a car thief was shot dead at point-blank range after he had already been arrested. And in Augsburg the indiscriminate use of weapons led to the death of a drunk driver.

What these incidents have in common is the fact that the use of the weapon was out of proportion to the "crime" and had nothing to do with self-defence.

What happened was that the pistol simply overcompensated for its user's helplessness.

There are those who will point to the inadequate training of young police officers and to unclear regulations on the use of arms.

But even should there be a kernel of truth in such arguments, they miss the core of the problem: it is simply impossible to arm a huge number of policemen and expect them all to show a sense of responsibility.

This is not directed against individual police officers but is meant to point to the fact that be the very law of averages such a system must lead to deadly mistakes.

Before going into the pros and cons in the controversy over the justification to "shoot to kill," experience shows that we should weigh the necessity of having an armed police force as against the possibility of a "controlled disarmament move."

Robert Leicht

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 22 March 1983)